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FOCUS on business

What's ahead . . .

For all its awesome size, the sleek black Universe Ireland may one day be eclipsed by still larger tankers.

No order has been placed for it yet, but Japan now is designing a ship of 500,000 deadweight tons. And shipbuilders say supertankers of one million dwt. technically are possible.

The only problems: depth of harbors and ship lanes, tricky maneuvering, and cost.

Safety, of course, is a major consideration. Gulf Oil officials who are leasing the giant tanker say every precaution has been taken to avert a Torrey Canyon-type disaster.

The Universe Ireland and its five sister ships now under construction in Japan will deliberately dodge congested sea routes, Gulf promises.

All six of the leviathans are expected to be in operation by July, 1969.

Trends . . .

More and more British business executives are joining trade unions.

One of these unions is the Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs. Its general secretary, Clive Jenkins, reports he is signing up new members at the rate of 2,000 a month. He calls it "phenomenal."

A major part of the phenomenon is that this number includes a high proportion of executives and even senior company managers.

"They are joining," says Mr. Jenkins, "mainly because they are in companies involved in mergers or threatened with mergers. Most of them have no proper contracts, even though they have been earning top salaries."

In the past, most executives were satisfied with what the British call "the golden handshake"—a substantial good-by cash gift, which until recently was free of tax.

But now the tax net has caught this perquisite, too. And much of the gilt has worn off the farewell offering.

So high are British taxes on both capital gains and investment income that an executive who loses his job can face financial hardship, however "wealthy" he may seem.

His only effective protection, many apparently feel, is union membership.

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As a tool of industry, atomic radiation is fast gaining converts.

Until now, irradiation has been considered too expensive for most production processes. But costs are tumbling. Development of smaller and cheaper particle accelerators is widening industry's interest.

A number of major companies, including General Motors and Firestone, are testing the irradiation of rubber and plastic. They think it might help improve the quality of their products.

Experts expect commercial irradiation to get a big boost when the nation's first full-scale radiation processing plant goes into operation in 1969.

A joint venture of New York State's Atomic and Space Development Authority and the Gamma Process Company, the facility will sterilize chemicals and medical supplies by bombarding them with gamma rays.

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Computers are coming on strong in Britain.

They are used for processing quarterly bills for thousands of telephone users. In two minutes they work out new schedules for hundreds of commuter trains which previously took months to compile manually.

The latest step: By next spring a London stockbroking firm will offer its clients a computer service expected to step up the accuracy of information supplied.

How and why . . .

The American stock market is moving more like an exciting roller coaster than a confidence-building escalator.

In recent months short-term investors have been whipsawed by an oscillation best measured perhaps by the several trips the Dow-Jones Industrial Average has taken between the 890's and the 920's.

Of the 30 stocks used in figuring this average, only one is higher now than it was when the Dow was at its high point in the 920's in mid-July: Standard Oil (New Jersey).

Past performance is not necessarily a good indicator of the future. But which stocks have kept the average from dropping even lower than it did over the past few months?

In addition to Jersey Standard (helped by news of a major oil strike in Alaska), these stocks from the Dow-Jones group are also higher than they were when the roller coaster took off in late May: American Telephone & Telegraph, du Pont, Goodyear, Standard Oil Company of California, Swift, and Woolworth.

Where to look

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Nigerian tragedy cries out

Can't Europe smell Africa burning?

By Joseph C. Harsch
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The price of international anarchy is high these days. Between 10,000 and 100,000 human beings (mostly children) died of starvation in Biafra during the month of July. The rate continues.

Plenty of efforts to bring relief are being made by charitable and religious organizations. Food is available. Transportation is ready. But neither goodwill nor available supplies have yet been able to jump over the tangled web of obstructions which the conflicting interests both of the warring factions and of outside countries have spun around the problem.

The United States is too preoccupied with its attempts to get itself out of what UN Ambassador George W. Ball calls "the glue pot" of Vietnam.

Western Europe is too divided between its economic "sixes and sevens" to be able to act as a unit.

There is still far from enough civilized coordination between the Western countries and the Soviet Union to permit what could be called a rational or modern approach to the problem.

The sad truth is that the world is in a badly disorganized condition. And nothing half so graphically and tragically exposes this as the murderous civil war which continues to tear apart what ought to be the most progressive and prosperous of the black African states.

Pattern of diplomacy

At the time of independence in 1960 Nigeria was the most populous and potentially the richest of all the black African countries. Now its potential has been buried under a sordid replay of the "power game" as played in the final phase of old style, 19th century, colonialism.

20th-century anachronism

It is both an outrage and an anachronism that the people of a country lying on the western coast of Africa, and only a short distance from the south of Western Europe in terms of modern transportation, should be enduring massacre and famine simply because the modern countries are not sufficiently interested to do what ought to be done.

What they ought to do is to get together and stop this ugly business of rival exploitation of local jealousies and rivalries among the tribes of Nigeria.

There is plenty of internal friction in Nigeria. But that friction has become a major blot on the world because Soviet guns and planes to one side and French weapons to the other have enabled tribal warfare to escalate into mass butchery. Left to themselves the local Africans are capable of doing each other ugly harm, but not on the mass scale which has tyrannized the country for the last year or more.

West Africa lies just under Western Europe's door step.

It is of primary interest and concern to Western Europe.

It is a shame, in every sense, that the Western Europeans have not yet so harmonized their plans and interests that they can think and act as a unit in relation to a problem such as this.

Perhaps it will turn out in the end to have been a necessary lesson to the Europeans. They have grown accustomed to having Washington take the lead in suppressing such "brush fire wars."

Those days are over. The Johnson administration will no longer rush into a situation like the one in

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Humphrey roughs in Viet plank

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Hubert H. Humphrey looked happy. His demeanor was more expressive than his carefully restrained words in the course of an interview he gave here this week.

"I am very pleased with the choice of the Republican Party," he said demurely.

As he spoke he could not resist a little slap of the hands as he thought of the Miami Beach convention that nominated Richard M. Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew.

Mr. Humphrey appears utterly confident in his own mind, anyway, that he is the man who will run against them. His running mate—?

"I do not have to clear it with Strom," he observed tartly. He referred to the help which segregationist Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) of South Carolina gave to the Nixon forces in lining up Southern delegates at the GOP convention.

Prospect of debates

Mr. Humphrey's comments ranged far and wide on the eve of the Democratic convention, with particular reference to his hardest problem, Vietnam. There is also, of course, the political campaign in which he quietly ascribes to himself a leading role.

The Vice-President, it appears, rather looks forward (if nominated) to public debates with Mr. Nixon and refers to them casually. Such debates, at least, would reduce the incidence of picketers and turbulent heckling and might put the campaign drama in a more dignified setting.

Mr. Humphrey says President Johnson has been scrupulously neutral in the Democratic race, almost too neutral, he seemed to imply.

"It is very doubtful if he [Mr. Johnson]

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By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

The three Slovak regions want more equality with the seven Czech ones

Prague: two nations indivisible?

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Prague

Fifty years ago come October, in the little Carpathian town of Turciansky Svaty Martin, Slovak political leaders proclaimed a single Czechoslovakia and committed the "land of the Slovaks" as part of a common Czechoslovak state.

Their vision was not only of unity but of equality between the two nations.

Today, a half century later, a joint commission is grappling again with problems of relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

Under the liberalized Communist regime which came to power early this year there is a better opportunity than hitherto for resolving the issues. Failure to do so could disrupt the whole "process of national revival" to which the new leaders are committed.

In the past, both Czechs and Slovaks have accused each other of nationalism. The latter have undoubtedly had more legitimate grievances.

Czech Prague usually has ruled as the seat of the "nation of state." Slovaks have too often been regarded—and made to feel—as inferior, or junior partners.

Dubcek breaks precedent

The highest offices, both in the first republic between the wars and thus far in the present, Communist one, went automatically to Czechs. When people speculated, eight months ago, about the successor to Antonin Novotny as party leader, they said: "Whoever it is, it cannot be a Slovak — that's a certainty!"

The choice of Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak, was not only a break with party precedent, it was a break in national thinking.

Slovaks point out, for example, that of this country's 90 ambassadors, all but 7 are Czechs; and that 6 of the 7 Slovaks are posted in African countries.

The need is to implement the coexistence agreed 50 years ago, to guarantee full equality in practice for both nations.

Above all it is necessary to protect the Slovaks against the almost inevitable consequences of disparity in numbers. There are only some 4½ million Slovaks as against about 10 million Czechs.

The national Parliament has 300 members balanced approximately on the Czech-Slovak proportions of population. The problem is: How to devise a system of representation which will ensure that Slovaks cannot be outvoted on a purely Slovak interest.

This is one of the principal difficulties facing the joint Commission of Federalization set up under the new reform program.

Vote parity rejected

Slovak spokesmen have demanded equal national representation. But the Czechs on the commission have said "no."

The Czechs envisage a strong federal government — whatever the local autonomy granted. They reject parity representation for the two Czech "lands" (Bohemia and Moravia) and Slovakia on the ground that "the vote of every citizen, Czech or Slovak, should have equal weight everywhere."

This does not satisfy the Slovaks. Their votes could never weigh equally with nor carry a decision against the Czech votes.

It looks as if, to meet this dilemma, two autonomous republics may be constituted. They would be united only by a federal administration responsible for foreign policy, defense, and federal economic planning and finance.

The Czechs would then have their own National Council and the Slovaks would have theirs. Each council would have full autonomy in regional affairs.

Three parliaments?

According to one outline given by Premier Oldrich Cernik, there may even be three parliaments. These would be a "parliament of the nations," composed of 200 deputies, and two 50-strong chambers of exclusively Czech or Slovak members. All would operate within constitutional guarantees safeguarding Slovakia against being overruled on specified Slovak issues.

To all intents and purposes there will be two prime ministers, it appears, one sitting as now in Prague and the other in Bratislava. Each would be the head of an almost

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Changing suburbia

High-rises moving in

By George H. Favre
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Mount Vernon, N.Y.

It's just another example of slightly down-at-the-heel, small-town America, the first undistinguished stop on the 5:30 commuter run from Manhattan to suburbia. But that is exactly what makes Mount Vernon so important.

Because what Mount Vernon is and what it is likely to become closely approximates hundreds of small cities composing the metropolitan sprawl of America. A community in transition, caught between the influx of blacks escaping the core city and the outflow of upwardly mobile whites looking for greener suburban pastures.

A visitor stumbles off the New Haven Railroad coach, 27 bone-shaking minutes out of Grand Central Station, and is greeted by the sight of 19 acres of weed-grown emptiness. These empty acres, in fact, are the reason for this correspondent's visit to Mount Vernon.

Plan described

On this unpromising site, Samuel J. Lefrak, New York City's biggest individual landlord and developer of the much-maligned Lefrak City, will erect another Lefrak community.

Along with a three-story office building, swish little shops, bowling alley, patios, gardens, recreation center, and the inevitable Olympic-sized swimming pool will go up 732 apartments in five high-rise buildings.

Rentals will be in keeping with the little boutiques built in for residents' convenience, ranging from an average of $55 per room per month in the 4 six-story buildings to $75 per room in the 17-story tower.

Communities compared

But why Mount Vernon? A visitor gazes across the empty acreage and sees a central business district bisected by the below-grade railroad. It looks like all the other small-town Main Streets that America's youths have been fleeing for years, high-school diplomas in hand. Mount Vernon is a tattered poor relation of the posh Westchester County family, which boasts the highest per-capita income in the United States. But everything that Westchester is, Mount Vernon emphatically is not. With 76,000 population, it has three or four times the density of any town in southern Westchester.

Where snobbish Bronxville, the next town up the line, has closed its gates and raised the drawbridges against Negroes, Mount Vernon has been absorbing black citizens in a steady stream over the last 10 or 15 years. Today its black population is about 35 percent. The influx of blacks about equals the outflow of whites, and the total population stays about the same.

Despite a sign outside the Penn Central station on the southwest corner of town that reads "The City of Homes Welcomes You,"

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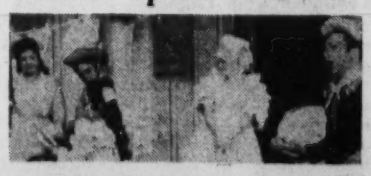
Inside today

Maddox candidacy shows little delegate strength

The nation's newest presidential aspirant, Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox, faces what appears to be a groundswell of delegate apathy to his candidacy—and much of it in his own home state.

Report from Atlanta: Page 3

Old West becomes setting for Italian opera in Ohio



A frontier version of Donizetti's "Elixir of Love" draws young audiences to the Cincinnati Summer Opera season. Meanwhile, back in Oregon, a Shakespeare festival finds the Forest of Arden in Lithia Park.

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2nd Cl Post Pd at Boston, Mass., and add'l offices

August 19, 1968

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By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

August in Paris

A young Frenchman paints on the bank of the Seine. With national uncertainty after the political turmoil of May still in the air, August brings a tempting escape to the beauties of nature.

Vacationing Frenchmen wonder . . .

By Carlyle Morgan
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

Halfway through August, French people feel all too close to the grand "rentrée" this year.

August is the great vacation month, a time of escape from "too much of everything" in the workaday world. The grand "rentrée" in early September is the "coming back to it all."

Not since the Algerian crisis ended have Frenchmen contemplated a return to so much uncertainty as they do this year. The popular feeling is frankly shared in government circles. It is a leftover from the student demonstrations and worker strikes of last May and June.

It persists despite the nation's answer to those disorders. This was a general election that gave the Gaullist regime an overwhelming majority of seats in the National Assembly. It was a vote for order above all things, although partly won with the government's promise of educational reform and partly by higher wages for workers.

Anxieties persist

Never before has a republican regime in France been so solidly based in Parliament. Yet anxieties are reasserting themselves.

Raymond Marcellin, Minister of the Interior, has evidently felt it necessary to give a new warning against violence.

In a speech at Neufchâteau in the Vosges, he said that subversive groups aimed to destroy the Republic and to install a dictatorship. He said these groups now had been ordered to disband.

He has further warned that foreigners who fail to observe political neutrality in French affairs "have been, are being, and will be expelled from the national territory."

Two days after the Marcellin speech, an American reporter was expelled from France. He is Scholfield Corryell, of the Guardian, a New York weekly described here as leftist. The Guardian concerns itself with student movements and other "progressive" interests.

Mr. Corryell last attracted publicity as a founder-member of the Paris American Committee to Stop War.

The stop-war group led demonstrations against a visit by Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey here last year. Mr. Corryell was held by the police at that time.

His expulsion follows that of 200 foreigners expelled since the May-June riots. No specific charge has been lodged against him, Paris sources say. But the government said that he figured in the May and June disorders and was one of a group of American deserters and resisters who occupied part of the Sorbonne.

The Corryell expulsion is not the only sign that French authorities are cracking down harder on what they consider troublesome activities. The stop-war committee also was denied permission to meet in a Quaker center here a couple of weeks ago because authorities held it might cause public disturbance.

Yet another sign that the government feels a need to keep the firmest possible control over coming events is seen in action against television journalists. In May and June 144 of them went on strike for the right to give what they called "more objective treatment to the news." Fifty-six were discharged two weeks ago. Another 46 were transferred to other posts.

Of this action by the government the editor of the French leftist weekly, Nouvel Observateur, says: "The only comparable purge of the French radio and press, and that on a smaller scale, was at the beginning of the German occupation."

He adds that "the French press and radio are undergoing a grave crisis." He cites dismissals of newspaper staff as showing the economic weakness of many journals. He says the government decision to accept advertising on television is further weakening the press.

He speaks from a leftist viewpoint. But the disquiet he expresses is widespread. The Left commands something like 40 to 45 percent of the French vote, though the effectiveness of this is greatly reduced by disagreements among leftist parties.

Meanwhile "revolutionary" student groups are reported as still active, printing pamphlets and planning new attacks on "the establishment."

Farmers irate

Also French farmers, who added their riots to the students' revolt and the industrial strikes last May, are again voicing their discontents in action. They have just dumped hundreds of tons of fruit in the streets and highways of southern France. Their complaint is against low prices and the fact that while their prices are cut, French consumers are still charged high prices by the "middlemen."

French tourists outside their country are bringing home reports that their national currency has lost its prestige. French bank notes are acceptable only at some 10 percent discount in neighboring countries. This underscores for French people the sudden change in France's position which has followed the May-June social disorders.

They also have Premier Maurice Couve de Murville's warning that two major dangers are facing France now in the form of inflation and underemployment. Financial papers are asking gravely how much unemployment there will be in the fall.

So the French vacationer sees his government engaged on many fronts as the August holiday hits its midway mark.

UN paces Mideast treadmill; no nearer peace

By Earl W. Foell
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, N.Y.

By "condemning" Israel's Aug. 4 air reprisal against Jordan, the UN Security Council may be hoping only to stave off further Mideast deterioration. It is not getting any nearer to bringing about a peace settlement there.

This is what frustrates the organization responsible for world order. It can laboriously work out just the minimum acceptable verbal punishment for Israelis or Arabs after attacks have occurred. It can count on these verbal deterrents to last for a further few weeks or months.

But members of the Council are grimly aware that when their palliatives wear off the problem is still there, with Arab and Israeli populations just a little more deeply set in the old pattern of hostility.

The resolution that the Council unanimously passed Friday night has a ring of big-power impatience in its written language. But the mood of its writers was more nearly weariness and resignaiton.

Their unanimity was hollow. They voted together on an "orphan" resolution — one none of them favored strongly enough to sponsor.

Lacking sponsorship, the document was simply read out for the president of the Council by a UN civil servant.

Because of objections by Algeria, it did not give the Council's direct backing to Swedish Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the tireless, Sphinx-tongued UN mediator for the Mideast. Instead Council President João Augusto de Araujo Castro of Brazil simply voiced strong general support for Mr. Jarring.

This move of the Security Council was left sponsorless because it satisfied no one completely enough to cause him to attach his nation's name to it—while satisfying all just enough to bring a unanimous vote.

All tried to compensate in their speeches. American Ambassador George W. Ball, for instance, said that "terror" has always "inevitably given rise to retaliation" and asked Jordan to restrain Arab "terrorists" operating from its soil.

But, as one European neutral said after watching the proceedings, "what is needed to get any impact, is for Washington and Moscow to make public pronouncements at the highest level saying they will not stand for any more breaches of the cease-fire. And after that they ought to launch a concentrated joint campaign of warnings and promises to back Mr. Jarring's work. They won't do it."

Why? he continued: "Vietnam . . . Czechoslovakia . . . elections—all that. But we aren't going to get anywhere otherwise."

Malawi raps talk site

By Reuters

Blantyre, Malawi

Malawi will not attend the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit conference next month, scheduled for Algiers, unless it is transferred outside the Arab world. The External Affairs Ministry announced.

The ministry said in a statement, "the safety of Malawi's delegation at the summit meeting cannot be guaranteed."

Malawi's relations with Arab countries—especially Egypt, Syria, and Algeria—have been strained because Malawi is receiving military and technical aid from Israel.

★ Czechoslovakia: two nations in one?

Continued from Page 1

fully autonomous and independent government. The two premiers would be vice-presidents of the federal government.

All this is going to call for some exceedingly skillfully drawn dividing lines. But little less, it is clear, will satisfy the highly nationalist-minded Slovaks. For too long they have felt themselves politically overridden by the Czech majority.

Svoboda improves relations

Many Slovaks still suspect that among the Czechs there are those who would like to maintain their old superiority. It was only a year ago that Mr. Novotny, then chief of state and party leader, churlishly affronted the Slovaks during a visit to that same town of Martin where their forebears opted hopefully for union in 1918.

However, his successor, Gen. Ludvik Svoboda, has made frequent visits to Slovakia since his election in March. And he has made every effort to remove bad impressions of Prague's old attitudes.

But the Slovaks have made clear they expect more than courtesies. They also want more than the first postwar arrangement, the so-called Kosice Program, under which they did enjoy two brief years of genuine autonomy. But this had already been whittled down when the Communists seized power in 1948; and thereafter Slovak rights were steadily restricted until in 1960 the so-called "Novotny dictator constitution" removed them altogether.

"We want federation" — "Federation or nothing" the slogans on streets and on trains in Slovakia have read this summer. And radical voices have been heard talking of a separate "socialist" and independent Slovakia to remind Prague of what might be if they don't get it.

Greek reaction

Papandreou assails son's political group

By Peter Mellas
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens

Three different announcements from three different quarters have thrown a new light on the attempted assassination Aug. 13 of Premier George Papadopoulos and the accompanying bomb explosions in Athens.

These were:

- Former Economics Minister Andreas Papandreou, now living in exile, almost openly took credit for the attempted violence in an effort, as he himself put it, to make this summer hotter in Greece.
- Senior government spokesman Byron Stamatopoulos stopped just short of formally committing the government as considering Andreas Papandreou the instigator of the incidents. Mr. Stamatopoulos pleaded that he would rather wait for the courts to reach the conclusion.
- The father of Andreas, octogenarian former Premier George Papandreou, leader of the Center Union Party, took the significant step of disassociating the party from his son's Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK).

Statement reported

According to the government George Papandreou forwarded a handwritten signed announcement from his villa, where he is under house arrest, to the undersecretariat of the press.

In the statement he was said to have written that Andreas Papandreou founded his own organization in Europe under the name of PAK. Therefore his pronouncements and deeds concerned only himself and his organization and not the Center Union, the statement added.

This was widely interpreted as a disavowal of Andreas by his father as a result of recent statements by Andreas and his reported alliance with the KKE, the Greek Communist Party, in coordinating resistance activity in Greece.

Position challenged

George Papandreou is not the first to condemn Andreas and challenge his position in the Center Union. When Andreas first announced the formation of PAK last February, insinuating that he would have no objection to cooperating with the Communists, former Center Union deputy and Underminister Alexandros Spanorrigas openly challenged Andreas. Mr. Spanorrigas said he was speaking for a large number of former Center Union deputies who chose not to be named.

Many former Center Union deputies disagree with many of Andreas Papandreou's pronouncements, some of which are in direct contradiction with established Center Union policy.

George Lazaridis, former Center Union deputy and close associate of Andreas, also made a statement on Aug. 6 following reports that Andreas had signed an alliance in Rome with Communist leader Antonios Brillakis. Mr. Lazaridis said Andreas's statements about a federated Greece and his agreement with Mr. Brillakis were unacceptable.

Another politician who was a staunch supporter of Andreas Papandreou stated, "The wolf has finally shed his sheep's clothing."

Arrests continue

With another bomb exploding in Athens Friday and continuing arrests by the government, observers believed the Communists may have decided to embark on a concerted resistance action, in cooperation with Andreas Papandreou.

The consensus is, however, that the Greek Communist Party is too much plagued by dissension and internal strife to cause much trouble to the regime, at least for the time being.

What may happen later is open to conjecture. Many believe it will basically depend on how convincing the regime is about returning the country to normalcy and how aggressive the Soviet Union may decide to be within the framework of its latest thrust into the Mediterranean.

Castle cheap . . . repairs costly

By the Associated Press

Alba, Italy

A 1,000-year-old mountain castle near Alba, with 20 rooms including a spacious dungeon, is for sale cheap—$8,450. The Finance Ministry, which holds the deed has one condition for the sale: The castle must be restored along the lines of its original architecture—estimated cost $240,000.

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ANNUAL FALL
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Maddox candidacy shows little strength

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

A green neon sign blinks arrestingly among puppies and kittens in a pet store window in Atlanta. Its one-word message expresses the proprietor's disapproval of Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox in one of the Governor's favorite phrases: "Phooey."

Such disapproval of the Governor, the nation's newest presidential candidate, has been growing in his home state over the past year, and indications are strong that the sign also expresses the reaction to the Maddox candidacy of most Southern delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

A careful check of politicians and political observers in Southern states shows that Governor Maddox is highly unlikely to get more than a scattering of delegate votes except from his home state of Georgia. And even there, as of this moment, he would win not quite half of Georgia's 43 convention votes. The majority will go for Hubert H. Humphrey.

Delegate strength cited

However, when he officially announced his candidacy Saturday Governor Maddox estimated his present delegate strength at "several hundred—and growing."

In his announcement speech, he came down hard against rioting, for law and order, for fiscal responsibility, and against what he charged is a no-win international policy of the United States government.

He broadly hinted that a deal might have been arranged with former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a third-party presidential candidate.

He said he saw no likelihood that he and Governor Wallace would be running against each other in November. Governor Maddox said he expected to gain the Democratic nomination. The Georgian declined to answer when asked specifically whether Governor Wallace had promised to withdraw his candidacy should Governor Maddox be the Democratic nominee.

Presidential hopeful Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy has said wishfully a Maddox candidacy might take enough votes away from the Vice-President in the South to prevent him from getting the nomination on the first ballot.

Imponderables measured

To some extent the Maddox vote total depends on two imponderables: how many favorite-son candidates release their delegates before the first round, and which delegation is seated in states where there are challenges. Nonetheless, it now appears unlikely that he will snare more than 50 votes from Southern states—and perhaps as few as 30. The South has 614 of the convention's 2,622 total votes.

It is possible but unlikely that Governor Maddox could receive as many as half of Alabama's 50 delegate votes. Thirty-one of the state's delegates were elected in a party primary pledged to support former Gov. George C. Wallace at the Democratic convention. For months Governor Maddox has described the Alabamian in glowing terms.

But within the past week Governor Wallace has said unequivocally that he does not want his name placed in nomination in Chicago, preferring to run solely on the ticket of his own American Independent Party. And his 31 backers in Alabama have been thrown into complete disarray.

It appears likely that in Chicago their votes will be scattered—a few for Governor Maddox, some for Vice-President Humphrey, others for other candidates. It is possible, but at this moment unlikely, that the now-fragmented pro-Wallace delegates will get together and decide to vote in concert for a conservative candidate—perhaps Governor Maddox.

Humphrey seen a gainer

In any case 17 of the other 18 Alabama votes are believed bound for Mr. Humphrey; with the last going for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

As to Mississippi, it is here considered a virtual certainty that the entire regular delegation will be denied seats and replaced by delegates from the biracial organization which challenges it. This challenge delegation's votes are distributed among the three liberal Democratic presidential hopefuls. None appear bound for Governor Maddox.

Even in the unlikely event that the regular delegation is seated the Georgian cannot expect many of its 24 votes, although the state's regular Democratic organization views events from the same highly conservative position that Governor Maddox does.

As of this writing it appears that only one of these 24 delegates would vote for the Georgian on the first ballot.

In several states favorite sons control the delegations. In North Carolina, for example, as of now all 59 delegates are expected to vote on the first round for the state's Governor, Dan Moore. However, should Governor Moore decide to release the delegation it is believed 58 would vote for Mr. Humphrey, and one for Senator McCarthy. It is not thought that Governor Maddox would pick up any votes here.

The story is similar in Tennessee, where the delegation is directed by Gov. Buford Ellington, a long-time associate of President Johnson and a favorite-son candidate. Should he release the delegation it likely will vote en masse for Vice-President Humphrey. There are unlikely to be Maddox votes here.

Florida's delegation is bound by the results of a primary on the first round, when it will give 4 votes to Senator McCarthy and 57 to its favorite son, Sen. George Smathers.

Most of Louisiana's 36 votes will go to Gov. John J. McKeithen, a favorite-son candidate for president and a bonafide vice-presidential aspirant. If, as is likely, the convention forbids the unit rules, Governor Maddox may pick up five or six votes from this state.

The Louisiana situation indicates the paradox of states in which there is strong Wallace support providing little delegate support for Governor Maddox.

★Humphrey roughs in Viet plank

Continued from Page 1

has much to say in the campaign." This will be too bad, Mr. Humphrey hinted, because the President's popularity rating is above that of all of the recent Republican candidates.

As to second place on his own ticket Mr. Humphrey says he would like: "a running mate of the same philosophical complexion as myself."

McCarthy-McGovern face-off

But Mr. Humphrey's thoughts keep coming back to Vietnam and the place where world affairs and Democratic politics meet: the forthcoming peace plank.

It is here that the crunch comes with Sens. Eugene J. McCarthy and George McGovern.

Publicly, anyway, Mr. Humphrey is relaxed and restrained. No, he says, a plank demanding an unconditional end of bombing "would not be particularly helpful" to the Paris negotiators.

But he does not see that kind of a recommendation. He seems to expect a compromise plank expressing the party's yearning for peace but not repudiating the administration.

"I think we'll work one out that will satisfy most of those who want to stay in the Democratic Party," he says.

Optimism evident

It is the dramatic and critical nature of peace negotiations right now that Mr. Humphrey constantly comes back to.

What is going on inside North Vietnam? There has been a lull but, on the other hand, there seems to be a regrouping of the opposition forces. Is the Viet Cong offering a military buildup or a political signal?

The Pentagon thinks the north is getting ready for a new offensive, and so apparently does Mr. Johnson. If Mr. Humphrey knows more than others he does not say so. This spring he announced he would make a foreign-policy speech in July, but he dropped the plan because of the "uncertainty." He does not intend to talk, he added with regret, "even though I am subject to considerable criticism."

Mr. Humphrey is an incorrigible optimist. This applies even to Vietnam. We have "an entirely different situation from six months ago," he says. The original all-out bombing, he says, was, in part, to bring the North Vietnamese to the conference table. "And now we are at the conference table."

Mr. Humphrey recently shifted his own formula for ending bombing. Previously he demanded that Hanoi offer "reciprocity" for any deescalation by the U.S. Now he has softened this to a request for "restraint and reasonable response."

New war stage indicated

In any case, says the hopeful Mr. Humphrey, we are, in one sense, deescalating "right now" inasmuch as the two sides are meeting in Paris. The process of "de-Americanizing" the war is also proceeding as more military strength goes to the South Vietnamese.

He sees "an entirely new stage" in the war. From this point of view the conflict is already "in process of liquidation and of negotiated political settlement." He acknowledges it will be a long and sticky process.

The Vice-President still argues that Vietnam is only part of a bigger global problem of peace, and particularly of U.S.-Soviet relations. This thesis that Vietnam is a "sideshow" and not "the main thrust" infuriates passionate opponents of the war like Senator McCarthy. Mr. Humphrey will not yield, however, his support of President Johnson and argues that the "long-term interests of peace must be seen in a broader framework."

Surtax share for cities

Mr. Humphrey is receiving staff reports and position papers, three or four a week. He has a brain trust of about 285 experts, whose coordinator is Washington economist Robert R. Nathan.

Mr. Humphrey toys with the idea of keeping some part of the present 10 percent surtax when the war ends (if inflation is licked) —say 5 percent; he would earmark this to a Marshall Plan for the cities.

"We can't do the job in the cities with private capital alone," he says thoughtfully, in apparent reference to the GOP platform which places emphasis on tax-induced corporate investments.

Mr. Humphrey wants to restructure the Democratic National Committee. He proposes, too, to set up a broader citizens committee with plenty of room for McCarthy, Kennedy, and McGovern followers. This organization now operates in only 30 cities and 26 states.

The Vice-President's office, and thoughts, hum with activity in the forthcoming contest with Mr. Nixon. There is only one obstacle in the way.

He must, of course, get the nomination.

By a staff photographer

A look ahead to debates

Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey apparently is looking forward to public debates with former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, if Mr. Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination for the presidency. As to the second spot on his ticket, the Vice-President says he wants "a running mate of the same philosophical complexion as myself."

Auto tires go patriotic

By the Associated Press

Akron, Ohio

Automobile tires have gone patriotic. Available only in black until the white sidewall tire was introduced in 1929, Goodyear says tires now may be obtained with sidewalls in a variety of colors including red, white, and blue.

They may have single, double, or triple stripes on the sides, as well as bold white lettering which gives them the look of tires used on racing cars.

Maddox candidacy questioned

By a staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

In view of what is an apparent groundswell of delegate apathy to Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox's candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, the question dogging political observers is why he chose to run in the first place.

The major reason doubtless is that the Governor simply marches to the erratic beat of his own drum. Even his wife said she was surprised when he announced less than a week ago that he might run; she said he had given no hint that he was considering such a step.

It is thought, also, that staunchly segregationist Governor Maddox is trying to gain enough delegate support to be able to bargain on behalf of the South with the platform committee, and perhaps with the eventual presidential nominee.

What the South wants is very simple, as was once again made plain at a meeting in Atlanta this past week of Democratic chairmen from five Southern states. The principal platform plank the South wants, these five agreed, is one that would return the control of public schools to local communities — taking the control away from "Washington and the courts," as one chairman put it.

They agreed, however, that they still want federal money. They just don't want the federal government to have any say about what standards should be met, or how the money should be spent.

In the past "local control of schools" in the South has meant control by white people. Invariably it also has meant better teachers, better facilities, smaller classes — in general, better education for white than Negro children.

And, of course, no school integration.

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Vienna's new artistic leaders

Cause for hope—and alarm?

By Rudolf Klein

Vienna

ARTS
ENTERTAINMENT

Both the Vienna State Opera and the Burgtheater are beginning the new season under new leadership. Their situations at the start, however, and therefore their outlooks for the future, differ.

At the Burgtheater, after 10 years as director, Ernst Haeusserman, Vienna-born but an American national, leaves behind him an intact house. His successor, Paul Hoffmann, a top-flight German actor, will be able to build on what already exists and develop it further; above all, he will not have to correct anything that has been done.

In his 10 years in this post, an exceptionally long time for a director of the Burgtheater, Mr. Haeusserman achieved historic productions, which have unquestionably reshaped the style of the house. As was not the case previously, he brought to the stage numerous modern authors, 11 premières, and many plays that were being given in Austria for the first time, among them works by Arthur Miller, Sartre, Grass, Brecht, Camus, Albee, Pinter, Ionesco, and Weiss.

By engaging first-class stage managers, set designers, and actors, he placed the classical drama in a setting worthy of the Burgtheater. And he promoted the Austrian genre play, so important to the Burgtheater. It may be said that the Haeusserman era was a brilliant one, of which even the world abroad soon came to be convinced. As a kind of measure for his work, Mr. Haeusserman's company performed in the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and Israel and had triumphal successes everywhere. With diplomatic skill, he knew how to present his case to the officials who provide the public funds for the state theaters, and thus have their hands on the controls, and to obtain the needed support.

Centennial coming

Entirely different and, unfortunately, considerably worse, is the situation at the State Opera, which will celebrate the centennial of its house next season. The guest performance in Montreal has already shown that things are not in the best of order in this institution.

The late Egon Hilbert sought ways of obtaining the financial means inevitably necessary for a truly international standard. By exerting all his energies in the face of growing opposition from officials who were committed to the economy program of the state household, he did obtain the funds and during the last year of his direction, and of his life, achieved splendid productions.

After Dr. Hilbert's sudden death, those responsible for the naming of a new director put out feelers to Rolf Liebermann and to Rudolf Bing, but so ostentatiously that there was general doubt here as to the seriousness of these intentions. Slowly the status quo changed from the provisional to the definite. Thus Heinrich Reif-Gintl, himself an official and a man of the administration, has already been confirmed as director of the Opera until 1970.

Dr. Reif-Gintl has scheduled only three premières for the jubilee year and not a single one for the festival at the end of May which will mark the hundred years of existence of the house. This represents an absolute minimum in the history of the State Opera, and at a time when the Munich opera is announcing 10 premières for the coming season. Since the Austrian state budget does not provide any better sponsorship for the immediately succeeding years, there is cause for alarm over the future of the State Opera.

By Bill Boyley

Arden in Ashland

. . . is found by Orlando (Scott Porter) and Rosalind (Ann Kinsolving) in "As You Like It," part of the Oregon Shakespearean Festival this season.

By Bill Boyley

A queen is born

. . . and the proud father is Henry VIII (Patrick Hines), presenting the Princess Elizabeth for christening as Queen Anne (Amanda McBroom) looks on in a scene from "King Henry VIII" at Ashland.

Shakespeare in Oregon

By Rosemary Fitzgerald

Ashland, Ore.

King Henry VIII walked out on the stage of the Oregon Shakespearean Festival theater—royal, powerful, and every pound the king he was—when Patrick Hines entered to begin playing this role in Shakespeare's "King Henry VIII," one of four plays in this summer's repertoire.

Dazzling in gold, Mr. Hines is not the cruel, gross Henry of Holbein's portraits, but rather a smiling, sometimes cherubic man, around whom the play revolves theatrically with its contrasts of pageantry and intimate historical episode.

At Wolsey's spectacular masque, Henry is jocular. Attracted by Anne Bullen (Boleyn), played by pretty Amanda McBroom, he kisses her tentatively, then with more purpose, but as directed by Richard Risso, he never betrays the sensuality we know in his character. Later comes the grand processional of Anne's coronation which sparkles under brillant light and is again alive with color and glitter.

Mr. Hines's characterization of Henry does deepen. Under his bluster and petulance is the hard, insensitive, selfish man with his burning ambition for a son. In his scenes with Cranmer, played movingly by Philip Davidson, he resumes his happy state, bemused and amazed that this man is not a hypocrite. Finally with the baby Elizabeth in his arms during the pageantry of her christening, he beams, hearing the prophecy of success for another Tudor and happiness for England.

Radiance and blackness

In opposition to Mr. Hines's radiance as Henry is the black sobriety of Katherine, played by Ann Kinsolving. Her defense of her marriage brings real dramatic moment to the play. Tall and gracious, Mrs. Kinsolving as Henry's Queen moves with surety when called before the court. There, she kneels alone opposite the scarlet-clad prelates. Her voice, in its passionate appeal, in its lucid intelligence, indicates marvelously the strength and regality of this devout Spanish princess.

Again she is pathetically effective as the discarded and dying Queen, ever regal, ever human, cradling her distorted hands, gently speaking her forgiveness toward Wolsey and Henry as she approaches her vision of heaven.

This summer's "Hamlet" proves what intense excitement this tragedy has when produced as Shakespeare wrote it. It is a long production, lasting three hours and 35 minutes, yet as one teen-ager said at its end, "It certainly holds your interest!"

Directed by Mr. Hines, "Hamlet" sweeps forward at a mad pace. Practically uncut, the dramatic action is clear, and so the play is continuously understandable.

An angry Hamlet

Richard Risso as Hamlet is not in sight when the court first assembles. As the King addresses him, he walks abruptly from behind a pillar, a moment of dramatic surprise. This "appearance" characterizes Mr. Risso's whole performance. He is not the classical-featured, pensive Dane. Rather he is the Hamlet of "piteous" look, of sudden anger, of frenzied movement which can momentarily turn to tenderness, purpose, or despondency.

He is violent with Ophelia, shaking and pushing her to the floor. Played by Shirley Patton, she in turn is not the usual "gentle" girl but his equal in strength of feeling and intelligence, balancing his intensity with her own throughout the play.

Matching Hamlet's cunning, Carrillo Gantner is a strong Claudius.

As Gertrude, Mrs. Kinsolving conveys the driving sensuality of a woman whose dalliance has caused her husband's murder and justifies her son's insulting reproaches.

Arden in Lithia Park

"Cymbeline," one of Shakespeare's last plays, is directed by James Sandoe. It moves attractively through fantasy, villainy, heroic battle, and happy conclusion. Cloten, Shakespeare's stupidest prince, is convincingly played by Thomas O. Martin.

For "As You Like It," the open stage of the festival theater is carpeted completely with green grass, so it, as well as the arching trees and musical fountain of surrounding Lithia Park, all become the Forest of Arden where the beauty and humor of Shakespeare's comedy will delight audiences until the final festival performance on Sept. 8. Its production and William Kinsolving's direction emphasize the charm of rustic life in an idyll that is a pleasure to see and to hear.

Opera in Ohio: Donizetti with cowboys

By Jack Mueller

Cincinnati

As the Cincinnati Summer Opera season opened, it was evident that competent casting and good direction were to be the major ingredients of success. Audiences want to hear the big names in opera, but they also are demanding fresh approaches to staging and attractive productions. A good supply of both was present in the 10 operas given during this city's 48th season in its well-known location at the Cincinnati Zoo.

Appearing for the first time here since 1950, Metropolitan Opera artist Richard Tucker drew appreciative audiences to hear his definitive interpretation of Manrico in Verdi's "Il Trovatore." Although the outdoor setting has advantages for summer operagoers, it is a serious disadvantage to singers who must contend with poor acoustics, variable weather, and distracting animal noises. This may soon be remedied by the removal of the festival to a renovated Music Hall, a suggestion eagerly endorsed by Mr. Tucker. He feels, too, that a much broader financial base must be given to opera by business and other community sources, and that opera in good English translations must be presented to attract larger and younger audiences.

A new production of Donizetti's "Elixir of Love" proved this theory to be correct. An attractive cast led by Joy Clements and Andrew Foldi wrought both beautiful music and skillful comedy from the story which had been transplanted into a western American setting.

Meanwhile, back at the . . .

Production manager James de Blasis used this method of updating the opera without disturbing the music or narrative. Adina thus becomes a wealthy ranch owner and her suitor, Nemorino, a shy cowboy while Belcore is a dashing cavalry sergeant and Dr. Dulcamara a traveling medicine man.

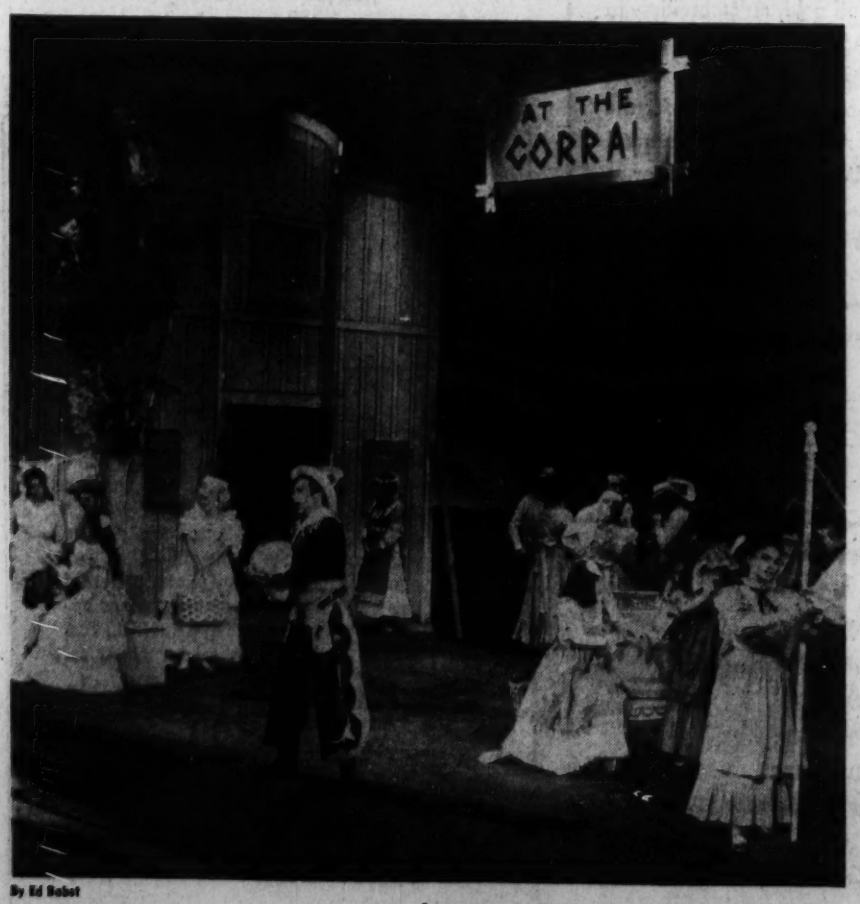
The change of locale further distinguished the work from two others by Donizetti, "Don Pasquale" and "Lucia di Lammermoor." In the title role of the latter Beverly Sills won many new admirers for her interpretation of the tragic heroine. She was brilliantly supported by John Alexander and Dominic Cossa as Edgardo and Lord Ashton, respectively, in the lavish new production, a gift of the Corbett Foundation. J. Ralph Corbett, former president of NuTone, Inc., established the foundation to carry on his interest in the musical aspects of Cincinnati's cultural life.

Prima donnas, popular roles

The way in which contemporary prima donnas interpret the parts of great operatic heroines will always fascinate music lovers, and Cincinnati displayed an impressive list of feminine singers in popular roles. In an exciting local debut Anna Moffo presented a sparkling Violetta, convincing in every aspect. Roberts Peters returned to sing Norina in "Don Pasquale" and abundantly satisfied her many admirers.

Although Felicia Weathers brought beauty and intelligence to her interpretation of "Madama Butterfly," it was not until her triumphant performance in "Salome" that her full talent and deserved reputation were evident. Edith Lang, earlier less convincing as Leonora, was perfectly cast in the spine-chilling part of Herodias. The powerful Strauss opera was one of the most cohesive and uniformly excellent productions of the season, with much of the credit due to the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Anton Guadagno.

French heoines were well represented by the Carmen of Mignon Dunn and Jean Fenn's Manon. Both Metropolitan Opera stars were musically and dramatically at the height of their powers. The season closed with "The Tales of Hoffmann," presented for the third successive time in an opulent production that has become a local legend. Beverly Sills, Norman Treigle, and Placido Domingo brought their virtuosity to the popular Offenbach showpiece.



By Ed Babet

It's not 'Oklahoma!'

. . . but a scene from the Cincinnati Summer Opera's version of Donizetti's "Elixir of Love," with Nemorino (Stanley Kolk) wearing chaps and Giannetta (Sylvia Cooper) hanging out laundry.

Connors under water

Chuck Connors has been signed to star with Robert Ryan in MGM's "Captain Nemo and the Floating City," an underwater drama inspired by the work of Jules Verne.

Mr. Connors, now working on a film assignment in Rome, is known for his roles in the television series "Cowboy in Africa," "Rifleman," "Arrest and Trial," and "Branded." His feature film credits include "The Big Country," "Synanon" and "Ride Down Vengeance." "Captain Nemo and the Floating City" is Mr. Connors's first film for MGM since he starred in the original "Flipper" film in 1963.

Dance in Wichita

The American Dance Symposium is being held in Wichita, Kan., Aug. 20 through 23. The program includes panel discussions, demonstrations, and master classes taught by some of the leaders in American dance. Included are Charles Weidman, Martha Hill, Jean Erdman, Daniel Nagrin, and Geoffrey Holder. The program will also include dance films of Ruth St. Denis, Martha Graham, José Limon, Helen Tamiris and others.

Childress première

The world première of "Wedding Band" by Alice Childress will be given by the Atlanta Repertory Theater during February as part of its winter program. In 1956 Miss Childress's "Trouble in Mind" won an Obie award for the best play of the year.

Fort Worth museum plans

A. L. Scot, president of the Kimbell Foundation, has announced that construction will begin in early 1969 on the new Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. The museum building, to be located on a nine-acre site north of Will Rogers Memorial Coliseum, is being designed by Philadelphia architect Louis Kahn with Preston Green of Fort Worth as resident architect. Preliminary plans call for a building of under 100,000 square feet to be built of reinforced concrete and native Texas stone.

The building will be divided into two parts, joined by a smaller connecting artery. Both main areas and the artery will be covered by a system of barrel vaults 24 feet high at their apex, spanning the roof in rows.

The concrete vault construction, developed especially for this project, is self-supporting and therefore requires a minimum of flexible open space that can be partitioned and otherwise divided to accommodate art installations of almost any size, material, or style.

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Associated Press

A Biafran doctor gives out cups of milk, made from powdered milk, to a long line of starving children at a refugee camp at Anwa, Biafra. Few planes now are getting through to Biafra. Food is desperately scarce; there is so little the doctor must give the milk to only those who appear strong enough to survive.

A meager ration

Major drive indicated in Biafra

By David Winder
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

London

A major military offensive calculated to deliver a knockout blow to Biafra is to be launched within a matter of days by Nigeria, according to a very reliable source.

The assault is expected to coincide with the anticipated collapse of the peace talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

"The federal Nigerians," reports this source, "are fed up with the way the talks are going on. They don't intend to break them off but they do intend to finish off the struggle militarily."

Fighting starts anew

Many observers here say they believe the talks will stumble on for just a few more days and then end as in three previous peace-discussion encounters without even remote agreement on the vital issues: a cease-fire, a political settlement, and an emergency food corridor.

Fighting now has broken out with renewed and intensified ferocity in the war zones, and this too, say the civil-war watchers, accounts for the intransigence of both delegations at the conference table.

From unrelated sources come reports that the "hawk" element is growing more powerful in the top Nigerian decision-making bodies with the two principal field commanders, Colonel Adekunle and Gen. Shuwan Muhammed, who fly back to Lagos every Friday, exerting considerable influence.

It is understood that a massive arms build-up, including an expansion of the Nigerian Air Force, has been under way for some weeks.

Significantly a party of British Members of Parliament has returned from a fact-finding tour of Nigeria.

Plea for speedy action

One member of the party, James Johnson, Labour MP for Kingston-upon-Hull, said that a quick federal Nigerian offensive would be more humane than the starving to death of tens of thousands of Biafran children should peace talks drag on or fail.

Only a few days earlier Conservative MP for Surbiton, Nigel Fisher, also a member of the tour party, made a similar plea.

All is not completely lost in the Nigerian peace talks.

What slender hopes remain for continuing the Addis Ababa conference now rest with host statesman, Emperor Haile Selassie, who has been exerting maximum influence to keep the sinking talks afloat.

But there are observers who still maintain that the Nigerian combatants are fighting too loudly to hear the counsel of outsiders.

★Can't Western Europe smell Africa burning?

Continued from Page 1

Nigeria without first getting the consent of the Congress. And after the Vietnam war it is likely to be a long time before the Senate would give its "assent" to any other president undertaking the role of "world policeman."

It is merely a factual commentary on the nature of changes in the world that Washington has done nothing more about the blood letting in Nigeria than send its diplomats to the mediating table.

This has in no way deterred the Soviets from giving the Nigerians 12 MIGs, 8 Ilyushins, and 3 or 4 patrol boats—all of which have helped to lift the casualty rate. Pilots for the Soviet planes were provided by Egypt.

Meanwhile the French have raised the stakes by shipping helicopters and armored cars to the Biafrans.

The British, however, who have economic interests in both parts of the war-torn country, have mostly helped Nigeria.

Obviously Moscow is exploiting an opportunity to build a power position on the western bulge of Africa. The French have been delighted to move in to what was once a British economic monopoly. And the Africans pay with their lives.

It is an example of what can happen and presumably will go on happening in Europe's backyard until or unless the Europeans take more interest in their surroundings and evolve a coordinated policy about them.

The real question posed by the horror in Nigeria is how soon the Western Europeans will start thinking and acting responsibly about the affairs of their own neighborhood.

They have continued to squabble among themselves while the Russians have moved into the Mediterranean Sea. They have allowed their own rivalries to unleash savagery in Nigeria and to make an opening for the Soviets.

New phase of history

This is hardly fitting conduct for what is, after all, the cradle and the heartland of Western civilization. The Western Europeans should be leading the world.

This is, of course, the end of one phase of history and the beginning of another. Since World War II the world has been dominated by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Others existed as best they could in the shadows of the giants. Their main concern was to avoid being trampled upon.

That appears to be ending now. Moscow is daily less the capital of a vast empire, more the capital of only the Russian state. The writ of Moscow no longer holds in Peking. It only influences, it does not control, decisions taken in the capitals of Eastern Europe.

Washington can no longer command the resources of the North Atlantic treaty organization in Europe, nor of the off-shore island chains of the Far East. Washington, too, has declined from being an "imperial" capital. It is only the capital of one federated union of states.

In the phase of history which lies ahead the Western Europeans and the Japanese must emerge to a higher level of responsibility. The need is clear.

Half of maritime budget slated for construction

By the Associated Press

Austin, Texas

President Johnson has signed a bill authorizing $429.4 million for a variety of maritime programs.

One of the biggest items in the bill, which sets ceilings for the year that began July 1, is a compromise $200 million for merchantship construction and rebuilding.

This was about $70 million more than Mr. Johnson requested. Originally the House approved $237.4 million to acquire, build, or reconstruct merchant ships. The Senate cut this back to $119.8 million before the $200 million compromise was reached.

The bill also includes $206 million for operating subsidies to ship lines, $5,279,000 for reserve fleet expenses, $5,177,000 for the Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y., $10,900,000 for research and development, and $2,035,000 for financial assistance to state marine schools.

23 years later

Japanese mood shows change as World War II emotion fades

By Charlotte Saikowski
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Once again Japan has marked the anniversary of its surrender in World War II. The mood has seemed one of unemotional detachment.

As in past years, the Emperor and Empress in a solemn ceremony On Aug. 15 honored the 3.1 million Japanese who were killed in the war. But most people in the streets paid scant heed to the sirens that wailed at noon, beckoning them to offer a one-minute silent prayer.

This year, say long-time observers, Japan's attention to the war is more markedly than ever that of historical recollection rather than emotional involvement. Today, 23 years after the war, those Japanese who were less than 20 years old or not yet born when the war ended account for about 75 percent of the population. The new generation thus has little personal experience with the war.

Attitudes change

A subtle change in attitude has also taken place because of the Vietnam peace talks in Paris. In the past several years the Japanese, apprehensive that Japan might become involved in hostilities, used the World War II anniversary as an occasion for ringing, emotional appeals for peace.

The peace appeals are still abundant. But most Japanese now talk as if the Vietnam war were all but over and World War II has thus also receded farther into the past. Aug. 15 has become basically a memorial day.

Although the emotional content of World War II has been largely muted for the Japanese, the subject of the war has not.

Since 1965, after nigh ignoring the war for 20 years, the Japanese have been caught up in a wave of military nostalgia. Novels, television programs, films, and comic books today abound in accounts of the fighting in World War II and they have a wide market.

Billboards now are splashed with ads for a film called "Tora! Tora! Tora!" produced jointly with the United States and dealing with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. A Japanese film released earlier this year, "The Longest Day," tells the story of Japan's surrender. The American film, "Green Berets," also is playing to packed movie houses.

Most of the Japanese war films are fictionalized, however, and do not seek to present any specific theater or period of the war. Usually the war is merely the backdrop for a highly emotional human drama.

Television, too, has a goodly share of war dramas. These are not a vehicle for glorifying militarists, but for making a frank pacifist appeal or for showing how human beings react to distress. Often they portray a clash between humanist individual soldier and inhuman war machine.

Military toys boom

Military toys, too, have witnessed a boom. These are supplemented by extensive literature in children's books and magazines which fictionalize the war and make heroes of young fighters, such as kamikaze pilots.

Much of the popular war history emphasizes the effect of the conflict on people's lives. A well-known women's magazine currently devotes a whole issue to the war, with articles describing how ordinary people lived, ate, and dressed.

In still another look at the past, an art exhibit devoted to the Pacific War (as the Japanese call it) is now making the rounds of leading Japanese cities. The paintings, by famous Japanese artists, were recently released by the United States and depict such scenes as an air raid on the Clark Field in the Philippines, an attack on a U.S. task force in the Pacific, and Japanese troops in China.

Despite this preoccupation with military themes, it by no means reflects a surge of chauvinism in Japan. Experienced observers view the heightened attention to the war as an emergence of national pride and a desire to salvage some feeling of self-respect following Japan's devastating defeat.

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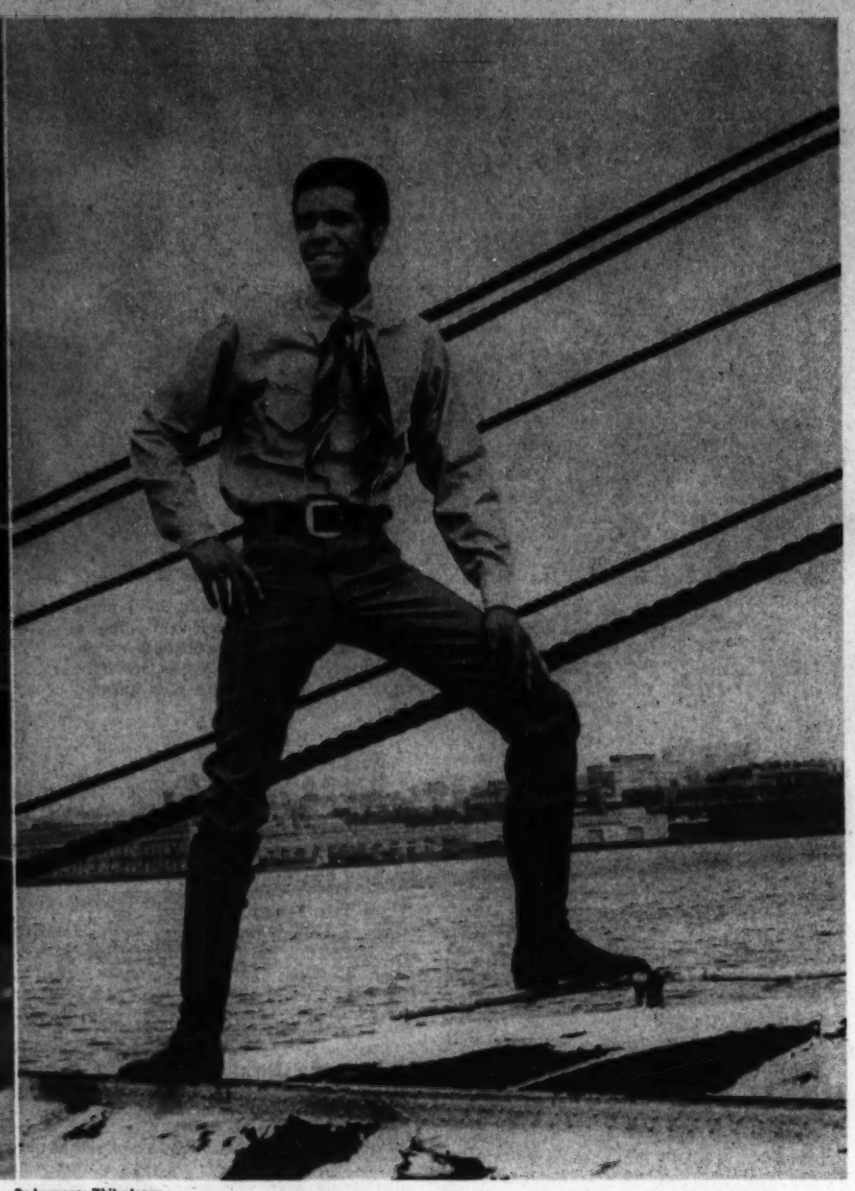
By Hugh Chick



By Lowrence Thibodeaux

New models

Harlem-born model Penny Bogan, whose agent is American Model Agency, is married and the mother of two little girls. She's 5' 8". John Johnston wears a mod outfit of wool crepe pants and square-toed, glove-leather knee boots.

Look for Penny Bogan and John Johnston

By Jo Ann Levine
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
New York

Penny Bogan and John Johnston have been models less than a year.

Their careers have already been profoundly affected by the reaction of white advertisers following the death of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April.

"Since then," says their casting director Miss Elaina Brooks, "everyone has wanted to get into the act and hire Negro models."

Some advertisers are using Negroes in ads because they now feel guilty if they don't. Others are becoming aware of the vast Negro purchasing power. Noted Mr. Johnston wryly, "People are finding out that Negroes use Listerine and Colgate, too."

The five-year-old American Model Agency, which acts as the agent for Miss Bogan and Mr. Johnston, is the youngest of New York City's three Negro-owned modeling agencies.

"All the white agencies now have at least a few Negroes on their roster," said Miss Brooks. "Years ago, designers wouldn't use Negro models in their shows because they said their Southern buyers would be offended. Now they say, 'Send more.' "

Miss Brooks says that the fashion houses tend to use the same girls all the time in their shows and that the Seventh Avenue market is closed to her as an agent "unless they get stuck."

"Photographers don't care," she said, "all they want is beauty. But Seventh Avenue has its own hangups."

Miss Brooks brought out a picture of a client who has recently been seen in Greyhound Bus commercials.

She said, "If I could book her out, not because she is black, but because she is a good model, she would work every day."

Miss Brooks figures that only about 15 percent of the Negro models are employed full time as models. The rest have to keep another job.

"There comes a time," she said, "if you really make it, when they like you because you are you. It happens to one in a thousand!"

Mr. Johnston said, "I've had a lot of people tell me I can't make it, that I am going to starve. But I believe in my career."

He recently gave up his job as manager of an import shoe store in Greenwich Village.

The telephone was ringing incessantly, but this time everyone turned to listen to Miss Brooks' conversation: "You want a chubby man, right? How chubby? Right."

She hung up and said, "I don't know where I'm going to get a chubby man. I'm trying not to take on chubby people, and then somebody wants a chubby man!"

In another phone conversation she was overheard saying, "Are you sure that he is black black, and doesn't look too Caucasian?"

Usually, she noted, when advertisers want a model who is really black, they start hemming around. "I say to them, 'What is it that you want, someone who is black?' They say, 'Yes, yes' and are so relieved I have said it.

"Then we have the 'sweet people' who ask for the 'sugar colors' — like 'dark chocolate.' "

She continued, "We have to have a vast variety of Negro models. The Negro race is so varied in shades, shapes, and features. Everyone has his or her image of what a beautiful Negro is."

She pointed to one ad, "You see, here is the full-lipped look, and in ads for stores like Sears, we have to have the Caucasian look."

Miss Bogan, who is married and the mother of two little girls, is often told she doesn't "look Negro enough."

"It burns me up," she said, "Even thinking about it, I get mad. They each have their own idea of how a Negro should look. Just because I am light, that doesn't make me less Negro."

Both she and Mr. Johnston would like their modeling careers to lead into acting.

In less than a year, Miss Bogan has appeared in Simplicity Patterns ads for Ebony Magazine and recently was featured in a large ad in the New York Times.

Miss Brooks said that many advertisers use two sets of ads — one for "white" magazines and one for Negro magazines, such as Ebony. Slowly, however, advertisers are experimenting with using the same ads for all publications.

"Thank heavens for Ebony!" Miss Brooks exclaimed. "If Ebony were not around, we wouldn't have a hope of breaking into the mass media.

"One thing we cannot do," she continued, "is to offend the agencies and advertisers, even if they are rude. Bad news travels faster than good news, and I would rather not have their business than have this bitterness that is so prevalent in our society.

"In this business," she continued, "you have to be bigger than life. You can't come into it with any small-time thinking."

Clothing guide for men

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Does the tall or stout man in your life need a secretary? Lewis Bryant has one with measurements that are special — it's a pocket-secretary size guide tailored exclusively for him.

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Lewis Bryant is a brand new area in the Lane Bryant, Inc., mail order operation. "What's His Size?" can be obtained, free of charge, by writing to Lane Bryant, Inc., Department WHS, 465 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

WOMEN TODAY

Two Irish weavers

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Dublin

"I guess you would say we were 'on station' now as far as modern leisure wear is concerned," Alan Hemmings commented across his desk at Donegal Design Limited here in Dublin.

What the personable Mr. Hemmings means is that the 17-year-old hand-weaving business he and his wife, Joy, began on a shoestring in Donegal, is now tuned in to the fashion and home furnishings needs of women in 20 countries. From Europe to Bermuda, and from Australia right across the United States they are selling their hand-woven luxurious mohair tweed in hostess skirts, minicapes, maxicapes, ponchos, scarves, sports hats, stoles, and shawls—all in glorious Irish colors and reminiscent plaids. Their big blanket-size divan cover, bordered in dashing contrasting colors, which was first promoted by a Paris boutique, is now being sold on several continents, along with their versatile travel rugs and hand-woven cushion covers. The excursion into home furnishings, Mr. Hemmings explains as a means of diversifying.

It was 1951, that newlyweds Joy and Alan Hemmings decided to establish a small hand-weaving and dyeing company in the West of Ireland. They took a cottage above the Lake of Loughanure in the mountains of North Donegal. They chose it for the wildness, beauty, and color of its scenery. And for its inspiration to them to produce fine, original fabrics.

They had no telephone, electricity, or running water in their rugged outpost, and they pressed their first couture fabric with a big black flat iron heated on the hearth.

Mrs. Hemmings, an artist trained as a portrait painter, became colorist, and the 50 fresh and vigorous colors now being dyed, spun, and woven on their 12 looms are of her selection. Her husband, who had been trained in England's silk mills, became technician and designer for their rich hand-woven mohair tweed. They both sat at their first and only loom developing the texture and their unique combinations of color. In 1955 they moved to Dublin. Today, they employ 50 weavers and craftsmen and show at annual fashion fairs in Ireland and Germany.

"Next year," Alan Hemmings said, smiling, "I hope to come to the U.S. I need to meet all my customers there, you know."

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coming features

Czechoslovakia: The Quiet Revolution
In a continuing series, Elizabeth Pond explains the Czech crisis, the participation by youth, the drive behind Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Czech Communist Party, his take-over generation of 40-year-olds, the role of the new journalism, and the conservatives' reaction. Ten articles, running Tuesdays and Fridays, through Tuesday, Sept. 17.

The Rage For The Raga
Indian music has made the scene. The sitar and the sarod — and players like Ravi Shankar—have become important as the Beatles and others blend it with their own sounds. Amy Lee uncovers the new world of this exotic music and its exponents.
FRIDAY, AUG. 23

Open Tennis: Pros and Cons
Open tournaments are convulsing the world of tennis. The amateurs' surprising success against the professionals may lead many of them to play for pay, too. Can the game support them all professionally? Will the Davis Cup lose its luster? Alan Grayson reports.
TUESDAY, AUG. 27

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

'No single-stroke tennis champions'

By Alan Grayson
Sports writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Chestnut Hill, Mass.

The turnover of bright young American women tennis players is so great these days it's hard to keep track of who's who. Even a regular reporter of the sport may feel he's found an oasis in the desert when he recognizes a familiar face.

Only a handful of spectators here at the Longwood Cricket Club bothered to watch Julie Heldman win the first match of the 1968 United States Amateur Championships. The sixth domestic seed was on and off the court almost before she'd worked up a glow in beating Dena Garcia 6—2, 6—1.

The significant thing about the performance, though, was that Miss Heldman was back, and making her presence felt. It was another rung on the ladder which could take her as high as a No. 2 ranking this year.

'Other things besides tennis'

In 1963 the New York girl won the United States Junior title and captured 10th spot in the national rankings. The next year she rose to seventh, and in 1965 she ranked eighth.

Early in 1966 she went over to play the European circuit. She played well, won the odd tournament or two, and helped the United States to a Federation Cup win.

"I was winning, but I wasn't having a good time," Julie recalled. "It got to me eventually. I decided there were too many other things to be done besides playing tennis. So I decided to quit and do other more-enjoyable things."

Miss Heldman's last match was at Wimbledon. "I got to the quarters and got crunched by Margaret Smith [Court]," she said ruefully. "That was the only time I'd ever played her before." But it seemed a good time to drop out, and especially as she wasn't used after being selected to the United States Wightman Cup team for the second consecutive year.

Year of variety

It wasn't a complete break from the game, however. That would have been hard for a young lady whose father, Julius, held a national seniors' ranking, and whose mother, Gladys, is the editor of World Tennis magazine.

So Julie worked with the latter as an assistant editor for three months before returning to Stanford University to complete her degree, majoring in history.

Then a brief career as a singer with her sister's rock 'n' roll band. An equally short stint as a secretary with an advertising agency. And back to California where she worked as a counselor at Dennis Van Der Meer's tennis camp.

By a staff photographer

Julie Heldman
. . . five tournament wins this year

"I started playing again in July '67," Miss Heldman said, "and in October I beat Billie Jean King in the Pacific Coast tournament. Earlier this year I beat Rosie Casals at Madison Square Garden, and I've beaten Francoise Durr twice and lost to her twice.

"Right now I'm playing as well as I've ever played—and, more important," she added, "I'm having fun."

Although Miss Heldman always has been mobile on court, and has a fine drop shot, she has been noted primarily for a booming forehand. It's so much more powerful than the average woman player's she can win games with passing shots from the baseline à la Nancy Richey.

"But I now have a backhand," Julie pointed out with some pride. "Playing on European clay the way I've done you play for hours and hours. So I've worked on putting a backhand together, and I believe that if I play another five or six years it's going to be a better shot than my forehand. It's already better looking.

"You can't become a great player on one stroke," she stressed. "When you're in the corner someone's sure to hit to your backhand eventually."

Most of Miss Heldman's comeback trail has been outside the United States so far. Already this year she's won five tournaments.

"Two were rather unsatisfactory though," she smiled. "I beat Ann Jones by default in Mexico City and I won by toss of a coin over Kathy Harter at Baastad in Sweden after the final had been rained out.

"I haven't really set myself any targets for the year, but the way I'm playing I believe I could become No. 2 in the country behind Nancy Richey. Now it all depends on whom I beat and where I play them."

By Jim Hughes, staff photographer

A 'bumbershot'

So it isn't raining. It's still a good way to keep the hot sun off the pate at a tennis match. Scene: the United States Amateur Championships in Chestnut Hill, Mass. The big serve belongs to Chauncey Steele III of Cambridge, Mass.

Batting in the low minors: a survival test

By Phil Elderkin
Sports writer of The Christian Science Monitor

About the only thing a big-league manager asks of a catcher these days is that he not weigh more than he hits.

This is probably the toughest position in baseball to fill. Good young receivers are coveted like rare coins, good old ones are constantly being encouraged to play one more year, and it is nearly impossible to trade for even a mediocre one.

"Right now you'd have to say that Bill Freehan of the Tigers is the best catcher in the American League," explained Les Moss, who has been managing the White Sox for Al Lopez.

"Freehan is young but experienced and he's having a good year with the bat. But after him I think we've got the best new kid in Duane Josephson.

'I've hit in streaks'

"Joe isn't hitting like he can because he's been rushed a little," Moss continued. "Duane had a big year for me at Indianapolis in 1966. I played him so much that I don't think my other catcher went to the plate more than 30 times all season."

Josephson hit .324 that year, drove in a lot of runs, and was named the most-valuable player in the Pacific Coast League. You could see why Chicago was anxious to bring him up.

They wanted his bat in the lineup. And Duane was so good defensively and handling pitchers that he didn't figure to hurt the White Sox much even if he didn't hit.

"I think his progress at the plate has been normal so far," Moss said. "He's having to learn the habits of the rival pitchers in this league, the way all young hitters do, and he's made some mistakes. But wait until he's had as much experience as Freehan. He'll hit."

Despite a batting average which seems to hang in the middle two-hundreds, Josephson has been the White Sox leading run producer so far with men on base.

"I don't know what it is with me, but most of the season I've hit in streaks," Duane said. "A couple of weeks ago I was in a slump. The pitchers were moving the ball in and out on me and I just wasn't getting good wood on anything.

By Jim Hughes, staff photographer

Duane Josephson
. . . "like starting all over again"

The wild side

"Then I got hit in the head," Josephson continued. "It didn't bother me too much because I had a helmet on. But they made me sit out a couple of games anyway. I hit the day I came back and I've been hitting well ever since. I don't think it's something you can explain."

Duane started in 1964 with Clinton, Iowa, a White Sox farm club in the Class A Midwest League.

"It was the low minors, and while I enjoyed the catching part of it, I hated to go to the plate," Josephson explained. "You can't imagine how wild the pitchers can be in a league like that.

"Most of the time they have no idea where the ball is going. I guess I never went up to the plate without the idea that I was going to protect myself first and then hit if I could.

"Maybe it sounds funny, but the higher I went in the minors the better I hit. And I'm sure it was simply because of a shift in my concentration. I was hitting, not protecting.

Danger — curves ahead!

"But it was like starting all over again after the White Sox recalled me from Indianapolis," Duane said. "Big-league pitchers seem to have a way of finding your weakness the first time they face you and then telling everybody about it.

"If they discover you have trouble with the curve ball—well, that's all you're going to see for the next six months. Sometimes you see it so often you learn to hit it as well as you do the fastball. But if you don't, you might as well get into another business."

There are two kinds of catchers—artists and laborers. Josephson belongs to the first group, who work from a balanced stance, throw strong, protect the plate well, and inspire confidence in their pitcher.

With two knuckleball relievers (Hoyt Wilhelm and Wilbur Wood) on Chicago's staff, Duane often is under a lot of pressure with men on base.

"If you just wait for the knuckler and don't go grabbing for the ball, it isn't that tough," Josephson said. "I actually turn my glove over and hold it as though it was a basket whenever I'm catching Wilhelm or Wood. The idea is not to fight the pitch. In two years, I think I've been charged with only four passed balls."

With only one season of high-minor-league experience behind him in '67, Duane made the mistake of most first-year players by trying too hard at home. He showed a tendency to press at the plate in Comiskey Park and then explode on the road, where he hit .305.

"It made us think that maybe a year of experience was all he needed," Moss said. "Lately we've been batting him fourth."

* * *

Catcher Bill Freehan of the Detroit Tigers was hit by a pitch three times in a game with the Boston Red Sox, tying a major league record.

Four players in the American League and seven in the National have previously been hit three times in the same game.

SPORTS

Underground Soviet political essay echoes Western ideas

By Paul Wohl
Written for The Christian Science Monitor

To dogmatic Soviet Communists, Prof. Andrei D. Sakharov's "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom" is a basic challenge.

For a central thesis of this leading Soviet scientist's 10,000-word essay is the convergence of socialism and capitalism—a proposition abhorrent to Communists who believe their system unique.

From a Western point of view the main significance of "Thoughts" is the evidence it provides that, despite censorship, the Soviet elite and a large part of the intelligentsia are fully conversant with Western ideas and that a lively discussion goes on among these people.

The manuscript of Professor Sakharov's essay circulates in typewritten form in the Soviet Union. It was published in the United States in July. This published version is the latest of several versions which all had been modified in the light of facts and opinions presented to the author, the youngest full member of the Academy of Sciences, by friends and colleagues.

In this writer's opinion, a Soviet document of similar importance has not reached the West since former Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's secret indictment of Stalin.

Thesis attacked in print

So striking are Professor Sakharov's disclosures and ideas that the latest issue of Moscow's multilingual weekly New Times has come out with an article attacking his convergence thesis. The writer of the article is I. A. Leontyev, a "corresponding member" of the Academy of Sciences. The New Times piece does not mention Prof. Sakharov by name; but the author refers to "papers submitted to scientific symposiums" and his reasoning closely follows the line of Professor Sakharov's thoughts.

Professor Sakharov — a physicist whose contributions to the harnessing of nuclear energy are widely recognized, and a Great-Russian among Great-Russians—is difficult to attack on personal grounds.

However, he himself says that, in discussions among intellectuals, he is referred to as "pro-Western" and apparently pro-American. But the important inference to be gained from this is that other schools of thought exist, among them those who would prefer a closer liaison with Europe along the lines of President de Gaulle's idea of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Stalin years portrayed

Other views also seem to be held. But what matters is that this discussion is completely divorced from the monotonously repeated official ideology.

Professor Sakharov tells us that these political and philosophical bouts have led to the writing of massive books which in typewritten or stenciled form pass from hand to hand but cannot be published.

Another important disclosure of Professor Sakharov is the extent of Stalin's terror. He compares it with the horrors of Nazism, something even the most critical Soviets have avoided in the past.

"At least ten to fifteen million people perished in the torture chambers of the NKVD [secret police], in camps, which were in fact the prototype of the fascist death camps, where, for example, thousands of prisoners were machine-gunned because of 'overcrowding' or as a result of 'special orders.' "

As a man placed near the summit of the Soviet pyramid and in close touch with his contemporaries Professor Sakharov tells us how the past is viewed by the elite.

He also mentions the "serf-like enslavement of the peasantry . . . the unenlightened zoological kind of anti-Semitism of the Stalinist bureaucracy" and Stalin's "Ukrainophobia."

Expulsion once planned

"The exposure of Stalinism in our country still has a long way to go" writes the professor. "It is imperative that we publish all authentic documents, including the archives of the NKVD and conduct nationwide investigations."

This opinion must be deeply entrenched because in 1964 "it was planned that the party announce the 'symbolic' expulsion of Stalin" [from the party]; this is a sensational bit of information hitherto unknown in the West.

The neo-Stalinists apparently stopped the movement. Professor Sakharov's exposure of the neo-Stalinists, whose very existence, according to official Soviets, was a Western myth, is another significant contribution to our knowledge of what is going on in the Soviet party. Professor Sakharov mentions the "caste considerations" of the neo-Stalinists.

Stalin's "pseudo-socialism," he writes, led to "the formation in the Soviet Union of a distinct class — a bureaucratic elite from which all key positions are filled and which is rewarded for its work through open and concealed privileges."

There is a group of 5 percent of the Soviet population, Professor Sakharov continues, which is "as privileged as its counterpart in the United States," while "40 percent of the Soviet population live in difficult economic circumstances."

Responsibility assessed

Professor Sakharov brands as an apparent mistake the Soviet Union's severing of diplomatic relations with Israel. While he holds the United States responsible for the war in Vietnam, he accuses his country of "direct responsibility" for the tensions in the Middle East.

Professor Sakharov's essay has circulated widely in the Soviet Union. One therefore can assume that his views are shared by quite a few of his fellow citizens.

It is precisely because the professor is not alone that no measures have been taken against him. The Kremlin cannot afford a purge of its nuclear physicists and other natural scientists on the scale on which Stalin disposed of his military commanders before the war.

A new generation has grown up. Scientists, moreover, may be more difficult to replace than army commanders.

If the Kremlin called on Professor Leontyev to refute Professor Sakharov's convergence theory, the reason is probably that this line of thought is especially widespread and is echoed by Western Communist thinking.

Should it take root, the revolutionary fervor would go out of communism; the policy of insulating the Soviet population against Western influences could hardly be maintained, and Western Communist parties would have to admit that they stand for reform rather than revolution.

First of two articles on Professor Sakharov's essay. Next: An analysis of his views on the future of mankind and Soviet relations with the United States and China.

Cape Town to end mixed buses?

By Reuters

Cape Town

One of South Africa's last multiracial institutions, Cape Town's bus service, may soon disappear if the government wins an impending clash with the city's municipal authority.

The legislative capital's integrated bus service has long been a small but irritating thorn for South African segregationists. This is particularly so for politicians of the ruling National Party, who meet in Cape Town each year for the five-month-long parliamentary session.

Discontent over the City Council's refusal to accept in full the government's apartheid line blew up into a forceful campaign for segregated buses this year.

The council, however, has decided to oppose any move to segregate its buses, and it is being backed up by the vast majority of Capetonians, who generally tend to take apartheid less seriously than other South Africans.

The council is controlled by the opposition United Party, but its reasons for wanting to maintain a racially mixed service are purely economic. Cape Town has the only city bus service in South Africa which shows a profit each year, despite having the lowest fares.

The council estimated that if it were to segregate the service, cost on two of the long routes alone would jump by $192,000 a year—an increase which would have to be absorbed by higher fares.

Add water and patience

By the Associated Press

Carson, Calif.

Frank Zsabo, who should know, says that most amateur boatbuilders lack the supreme quality they need: patience.

Mr. Zsabo runs a shipyard near Los Angeles harbor where boat builders pay $250 a year to store their craft while they work on them. Only a fifth of his customers ever put a boat to water, he says. Some boats go unfinished for 10 years.

Does Mr. Zsabo build boats?

"Oh, I've done repairs on a few, but I just haven't got the patience," he said.

Nylon first called 'polymer 66'

Dr. Wallace H. Carothers, a research chemist in the du Pont laboratories, succeeded in spinning a synthetic fiber that met exhaustive tests of durability in May of 1934. Dr. Carothers called this fiber "polymer 66," but it later became famous as nylon.

A most moving day

People, like trees, should not be transplanted in the warm months. This year I determined that for once moving day would be in the cool of the year, with the March winds wafting me and the endless cartons and miscellany of furniture on our way.

That determination was carried out, but I cannot say that it helped appreciably. After all, it is not when one moves, or what one moves, that makes the uprooting hard, but what one leaves behind: the friendships that cannot be emptied and locked up like a house.

♦ ♦ ♦

For several weeks young Ogden, who is six and who has been a close neighbor for half his life, had been dogging my steps even more than usual. As I came home from work, he would be somewhere about the door, waiting with the news of the day — his day. He had gone to a party and won a prize, or he'd learned some French in school. More often the news concerned his young red-headed cat, Tigger-lilly, who in the Milne tradition manages to produce small crises.

"I don't know what Tigger will do when your cats move away. He likes to come and eat dinner with them." This statement was as full of truth as Tigger was of food when he waddled away from our cat table every evening. With two meals at his own home and breakfast and dinner at mine every day, he was rapidly taking on the proportions of Pooh rather than Tigger.

"Are you going far? Can Tigger and I visit?"

I explained that New Hampshire was just the next state. Actually, I had been making several trips each weekend with my cartons of books and art materials.

"The bookshelves look funny without your books," Ogden commented, running his small palm over a shelf that I was ashamed to notice needed dusting. "When are you going?"

I told him that I was determined to clean the house from top to bottom now that the moving men and the animals and furniture were out of it.

"I'll help you clean," he said with surprising enthusiasm. "I *love* cleaning house."

♦ ♦ ♦

It hardly seemed possible he meant it, but I handed him one of those long-handled sponge mops with the fancy do-jigger that squeezes the sponge out, and he hurried with it to the porch.

"I just love cleaning floors," he soon sang out. I could hear him sloshing whole bucketfuls of water across the tiles and fairly skating across them with the mop.

"Ogden," I yodeled, "you're supposed to wipe up the water before you walk on the floor." We found his pudgy fingers couldn't quite operate the squeezing contraption, so I suggested taking over the floors myself. Ogden then ventured that he might use the aerosol "squirt can" on the bathroom tiles.

In those housewifely tones that belong to a television commercial his voice came from the bathroom: "This is really like magic. It does all the heavy work for me, squoosh!"

His message was so convincing, I had sweet visions of gleaming tile and went into the bathroom prepared to applaud. The walls indeed did gleam. But not the bathtub, because Ogden, with his sturdy little shoes, was standing in the tub to reach the tiles.

♦ ♦ ♦

Right then we needed a break, so I suggested taking some trash down to the dump, his favorite Saturday occupation, with milkshakes on the way back. Ogden likes to share good things and hurried down the garden steps to get his friend Jimmy. We had so many barrels of trash to take to the dump that it seemed for a while I might have to leave behind either half the trash or half my passengers. But Ogden and Jimmy obligingly squeezed themselves into small giggling balls in the back seat while I nudged and prodded the last plastic barrel into the car.

At the dump the boys were happy as only natural scavengers can be, hauling out my trash barrels and then trying to bring back as much booty as possible. "Hey, look what I found . . . somebody's galoshes!" Aside from the fact that these had holes and were three times the size of his feet, I reminded Ogden that when it poured he seldom wore the galoshes he owned. It was only the lure of milkshakes that finally pried them loose from the smoking fires of the dump, as alluring to them as Alaska's Valley of a Thousand Smokes.

♦ ♦ ♦

After returning the boys home, I went back myself to the small white house that, empty of furniture and voices, seemed to have a self-conscious air about it. The house felt strange with me and I with it.

After several hours of hard work cleaning out the tall kitchen cupboard (why do I collect enough canned goods for a year's siege?), I heard Ogden's voice, small and high, coming through the casement window. "Joy, you haven't gone yet, have you? Are you still there?"

I opened the kitchen door, thinking how many times he had stood there grinning, come for no purpose but to talk. This time he felt the need to be more purposeful. "I've come to help some more." He picked up a broom and began energetically to sweep where I had just finished. Then he spotted a small ink sketch of the cat, Churchill, which I had found behind a bookshelf, the paper dog-eared and a little dusty.

"Did you do this?"

I told him he might keep it to remember Churchill by if he wished.

He studied the small sketch and then blurted out with an intensity unlike him, "But I've got to find something to give *you!*" With that he hurried out of the house, leaving the broom and an open door behind him.

Within another hour I had stuffed the cupboard contents into the car, including all my cleaning materials, brooms, pails, and mops sticking out of the windows. Two enormous lampshades, which I had almost forgotten, were wired onto the trunk with an electrical extension cord that I hoped fervently would not be dislodged by heavy highway winds. My car now was twice its normal girth and I would have to remember to take the corners wide. Then I gently pushed the very reluctant big poodle, Beverly, into the front seat and found there was just barely room for myself behind the wheel with a broom tickling my ear.

♦ ♦ ♦

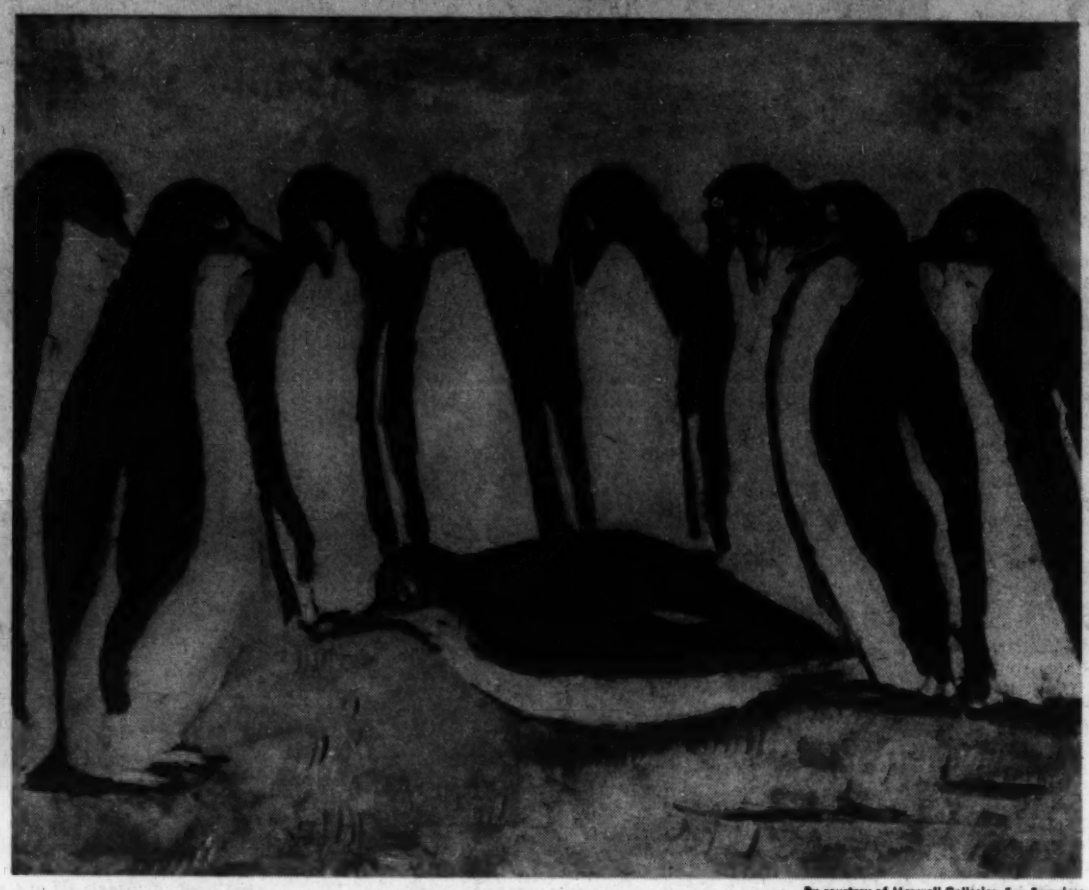
I had started up the motor, looking at the darkening sky and realizing it would be night before I reached New Hampshire. Then Ogden's breathless voice came hurrying around the side of the house. "Joy! Joy! I've got something for you, don't go yet!" He was waving a bright little necklace in his fist and stuck it through the car window.

"I got my grandmother to give it to me . . . it's for you." The necklace was all the wonderful young colors, yellow, orange and a stinging green. "Do you like it?"

I attached the circlet of beads carefully to the dashboard and said that I liked it very much indeed. My thanks took on a formality that made me feel as if I were the child. I started up the motor again, waved, and carefully backed out until the solid little figure standing in the drive was just an impression and a voice.

The car, like a loaded gypsy caravan, creaked and bounced through a countryside taken over by night creatures. Crickets argued at each other from the dark greenery and frogs tuned up for the night. In the crowded dimness of the car, Beverly sighed and yawned hugely, and a crescent of yellow, green and orange beads grinned brightly at me from the dashboard.

JOY V. DUELAND



By courtesy of Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco

"PENGUINS": *Oil on board by Marsden Hartley (1877-1943)*

"American Art Since 1850" is the title of an exhibition that opened August 2 at the Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco. It represents a survey of paintings, watercolors, and drawings by American artists from the mid-nineteenth century to today. The show provides a comprehensive view of little known painters as well as noted ones, aiming to give a more profound understanding of the diverse forces and influences that combined to produce the last hundred years of American art.

Marsden Hartley is represented by his "Penguins," seen above.

This important American, who emerged from cubist and impressionist periods to a synthesis of his own particular vision, eventually developed a style at once austere, powerful, and simple. By 1943, the year of "Penguins," he was at his most mature; he employed extreme color contrasts achieved by broad outlines and heavy brushstrokes. His expressionist leanings are evident, and his painting is easily identified by the rugged masses of color, clear patterns, and a heavy inertia of the forms. Penguins themselves well suit his style, seeming, as they do, to be solidly earthbound. This, plus their black and white coloration, might be a creation of Hartley rather than of nature. In this painting, a male penguin is evidently in the act of offering a pebble to a female — a custom which is part of the strange courtship pattern of this unique bird.

Hartley's arrangement adds much in the way of interest: The balance of dark and light, the choice of perpendiculars and horizontals, the proportion of foreground and background to the central line of birds, all make this a very contemporary statement.

The exhibition will be on view at the Maxwell Galleries through September 1.

PATRICIA BOYD WILSON

Cat in the sun

The yellow cat
Has found the one
Unlatticed spot
Of mellow sun

The path lays bare.
As is his right,
He warms him there
In yellow light.

The sun and fur
And ocher dust
So blend and blur,
I see him just

In time to curb
My careless step
And not disturb
His golden nap.

ALBERTA ROBISON

Helianthus

The great whorl-centered sun
rides here in miniature—
sextant upon a stalk,
all the corona flames
tangible, lapped and rayed.
As water to the moon
obedient, it moves
to trace upon the air
the single truth it knows.

A bee, no less intent,
riding that tethered wheel,
reaping that yellow heart,
hovers between two suns.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

The things we need

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Christ Jesus commanded his disciples: "Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matthew 6:31-33).

A questioner once asked Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science: "Does this Scripture, 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things,' imply that Spirit takes note of matter?" ("Miscellaneous Writings," p. 72).

Part of Mrs. Eddy's reply reads: "Being is God, infinite Spirit; therefore it cannot cognize aught material, or outside of infinity." She continues, "The Scriptural passage quoted affords no evidence of the reality of matter, or that God is conscious of it."

♦ ♦ ♦

The understanding of God as Spirit, or Mind, and obedience to Him fulfill the conditions Jesus attached to his promise of the added things and make it certain of fulfillment. Spiritual truth is not a retreat into transcendentalism, which often shirks practical responsibilities and insists grandly that the "things" are unimportant. It is not a man-centered doctrine which considers that one of God's chief functions is to keep material mortals supplied with the things they think they want.

Christian Science presents the God-centered Science of being, in which Spirit, or Love, is All. It shows that man's sole function is to reflect the nature, or qualities, of God and that man invariably performs this function because he is the eternal emanation of Spirit, not an independent material personality. It shows further that because infinite Spirit is Mind, all real being and experience are spiritually mental and that material existence is unreal. The latter is the human mind's limited, material view of being.

The more the human being brings into his daily life the spiritual qualities of his real selfhood — love, integrity, and joy — the more he will understand real existence and consequently the more affluent his human experience will be. Spiritual qualities are never personal. They are God-derived and therefore are inherent in everyone.

♦ ♦ ♦

Divine Love does not need to be aware of particular human needs in order to supply them, any more than the sun needs to be aware of the needs of the flowers it brings into bloom, the corn, it ripens. The sun does all these things effortlessly just by emitting light and warmth. In the same way, the spiritual qualities that radiate from God operate in individual human thought, enlightening and enlivening it. They expose the illusory nature of material existence with its lack, pleasures, and pains and reveal the actuality of life in God. Such spiritual insight in turn provides food, clothing, and whatever else one needs humanly.

On page 73 of "Miscellaneous Writings" we read: "Belief fulfils the conditions of a belief, and these conditions destroy the belief. Hence the verdict of experience: We have need of *these* things; we have need to know that the so-called pleasures and pains of matter — yea, that all subjective states of false sensation — are *unreal.*"

♦ ♦ ♦

The things we really need and for which we should pray, then, are spiritual, not material. The value of prayer is in bringing thought closer to divine Love. Prayer spiritualizes human thought. It does not humanize God's thought. Instead of starting with a material need and begging God to fill it, we must learn to start from the all-inclusiveness of infinite Spirit, rejoice in divine reality, and above all live Love day by day.

[Elsewhere on the page may be found a translation of this article in Norwegian. Once a month an article on Christian Science appears in a Norwegian translation.]

Alt det vi trenger

[This is a Norwegian translation of "The things we need," appearing on this page]

Oversettelse av den religiøse artikkelen som finnes på engelsk på denne side
[En norsk oversettelse forekommer på denne side én gang om måneden]

Kristus Jesus påla sine disipler: "... I skal ikke være bekymret og si: Hvad skal vi ete, eller hvad skal vi drikke, eller hvad skal vi klæ oss med? For ... eders himmelske Fader vet at I trenger til alt dette. Men søk først Guds rike og hans rettferdighet, så skal I få alt dette i tilgift!" (Matteus' evangelium 6:31-33.)

Mary Baker Eddy, Oppdageren og Grunnleggeren av Kristen Videnskap*, ble engang spurt: "Betyr skriftstedet 'Eders himmelske Fader vet at I trenger til alt dette', at Ånd har kjennskap til materien?" ("Miscellaneous Writings", s. 72)

En del av Mrs. Eddys svar lyder: "Væren er Gud, uendelig Ånd; derfor kan den ikke kjenne til noe som er materielt, eller utenfor uendeligheten." Hun fortsetter: "Det siterte skriftsted gir ikke noe bevis for at materien er virkelig, eller for at Gud har kjennskap til den."

♦ ♦ ♦

Forståelsen av at Gud er Ånd, eller Sinn, og lydighet mot Ham, oppfyller de betingelser Jesus knyttet til sitt løfte om det vi skulle få i tilgift, og sikrer oppfyllelsen av dette løfte. Åndelig sannhet er ikke en tilflukt til det oversanselige, som ofte unndrar seg det praktiske ansvar og storslått hevder at 'alt dette' er uvesentlig. Åndelig sannhet er ikke en lære som kretser om det menneskelige og mener at en av Guds viktigste funksjoner er å holde materielle dødelige forsynt med de ting de tror de trenger..

Kristen Videnskap fremstiller Videnskapen om tilværelsen med Gud i sentrum, der Ånd, eller Kjærlighet, er Alt. Den viser at menneskets eneste funksjon er å gjenspeile Guds vesen, eller egenskaper, og at mennesket ufravikelig utøver denne funksjon, fordi mennesket er den evige utstrømning av Ånd, og ikke en selvstendig materiell personlighet. Den viser dessuten at fordi uendelig Ånd er Sinn, er all virkelig tilværelse og erfaring åndelig mental, og materiell eksistens uvirkelig. Materiell eksistens er det menneskelige sinns begrensede, materielle oppfatning av tilværelsen.

Jo mer et menneske lar sitt daglige liv preges av de åndelige egenskaper som utgjør dets sanne jeg — kjærlighet, rettskaffenhet og glede — jo mer vil det forstå virkelig eksistens og desto rikere vil derfor dets menneskelige erfaring bli. Åndelige egenskaper er aldri personlige. De er skjenket av Gud, og tilhører derfor alle mennesker.

♦ ♦ ♦

Guddommelig Kjærlighet trenger ikke å kjenne de enkelte menneskelige behov for å møte dem, like lite som solen trenger å kjenne behovet hos blomstene som den får til å utfolde seg, eller kornet den modner. Solen gjør alt dette uten anstrengelse, bare ved å utstråle lys og varme. På samme måte virker de åndelige egenskaper som utstråles fra Gud i den individuelle menneskelige tanke, og opplyser den og gir den liv. De avslører den materielle tilværelses illusoriske vesen med dens mangler, nydelser og smerter, og åpenbarer virkeligheten av livet i Gud. Denne åndelige innsikt sørger så igjen for mat, klær, og for våre menneskelige behov forøvrig.

På side 73 i "Miscellaneous Writings" leser vi: "En antagelse oppfyller en antagelses betingelser, og disse betingelser tilintetgjør antagelsen. Derav trekker vi den slutning: Vi trenger til *alt dette;* vi trenger å vite at materiens såkalte nydelser og smerter — ja, alle feilaktige følelsers subjektive tilstander — er *uvirkelige.*"

♦ ♦ ♦

De ting vi virkelig trenger og som vi skulle be om å få, er altså åndelige, ikke materielle. Det bønnen gjør er å bringe tanken nærmere guddommelig Kjærlighet. Bønn åndeliggjør den menneskelige tanke. Den menneskeliggjør ikke Guds tanker. Istedenfor å begynne med et materielt behov og bønnfalle Gud om å møte det, må vi lære å ta utgangspunkt i at uendelig Ånd er altomfattende, fryde oss over guddommelig virkelighet, og fremfor alt leve Kjærligheten fra dag til dag.

*Christian Science: Uttales 'Kristjen 'Saiens.

Den norske oversettelse av Kristen Videnskaps lærebok, "Videnskap og Helse med Nøkkel til Skriften" av Mary Baker Eddy, kan fåes med den engelske tekst på motstående sider. Den kan kjøpes på Kristen Videnskaps lesesværelser eller bestilles fra Clem W. Collins, Publishers' Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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The Concord stagecoach: westward to the Mississippi

The Concord stagecoach of the 1840's was designed for use along the eastern seaboard and over such roads as led westward to the Mississippi Valley. Lightness of body coupled with strength and elegance were in demand, and the Concord coach met the requirements admirably. The framework of the body was small-dimension, straight-grained white ash; each piece was steamed pliable, bent to the exact curve required, and then kiln dried until it was tough as rawhide and stronger than most iron of the time. Thin poplar panels were steamed, shaped and dried on templates, then hand tooled to fit snugly into the grooved framework, thus attaining the egg-shell ratio of strength for weight.

On each side there was a door with a glass window that opened by lowering the sash into a pocket between the panels. At either side of the door there was an unglazed window. These were fitted with leather curtains that covered the openings snugly against cold, rain, or snow. If the weather was pleasant they were rolled up from the outside and held in keeper straps at the window tops.

There were three leather-cushioned three-passenger seats in the standard light Concord coach, those at the front and back facing each other, and the one in the center facing forward. The end seats had deeply padded back cushions, but if the three occupants were also deeply padded they became very close traveling companions, for there was barely fifteen inches of seat space apiece. The middle seat was a three-section bench, the center segment bolted solidly to the floor and an extension hinged to each end. These folded up to provide passageway between the doors and rear seat. The backrest was a broad leather belt suspended on straps from the ceiling, its ends attached by hooks to the door frame. Passengers on this seat were allowed a bit more hip room than the others, but if one of them faced a long-legged traveler on the front seat they had to interlock knees. — From "Stagecoach West: The story of the frontier express lines that linked the nation together," by Ralph Moody. Copyright, 1967, by Ralph Moody. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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• *Second Section*

Vietnam:

Military challenge for today . . .

Apparently stymied on a small Asian battlefield, U.S. military analysts daily assess the Viet war. Three needs are targeted: better understanding of the foe, clearer allied goals, and a more broadly coordinated effort.

By George W. Ashworth

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

MANY INFORMED STUDENTS OF THE Vietnam war here hold that American political and military leadership did not understand in the early 1960's either what was happening or how to combat it. The result, they say, was one miscalculation after another.

But these analysts do not lay the blunders necessarily to incompetence or political failure. For the most part, they agree (1) that the war has proved the ability of honest, trained, intellectual, and dedicated Americans in diverse capacities — civilian and military — to be wrong and (2) that another administration during the period of decision might well have come up with different — but equally faulty — conclusions.

The real question, one source said, is this: "Can a wealthy, progressive, bourgeois, Occidental nation attain victory in an Oriental 'people's war'?"

Informed analysts say there are perhaps three main criteria for success.

• The first is understanding the enemy, including his abilities, goals, and resolve.

North Vietnamese goals were not greatly in doubt. But the American miscalculation of North Vietnamese abilities and resolve was monumental—particularly in the matter of resolve, with its measurable effect on abilities.

Fresh confrontation failed

It is still incomprehensible to many Americans that the North Vietnamese could hold on after sustaining such a severe pounding over such a long time. But, one source said, this lack of understanding is peculiar generally to those who have not been able to perceive that the war is to the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese, something akin to a holy war, with all the fervor and fanaticism that can imply.

The American leadership, fresh from its success in the Cuban missile confrontation, reasoned that if the Communists were again faced with force, they would back down. They did not do so in Vietnam.

What former presidential press secretary Bill D. Moyers called "the slide-rule concept of guerrilla war" has not worked in Vietnam. Vietnamese fervor has been abetted by substantial Soviet and Chinese Communist logistical support, negating to a large extent the vaunted American economic and military muscle.

• The second criterion of success is an understanding of paramount allied goals.

But the United States has approached the war with wavering goals and a divided will at home. The one paramount goal, many analysts maintain has to be security. Development projects to win the hearts and minds of the people go down the drain unless security is achieved.

Power convincing

If, for instance, the U.S. builds a school and that school is torn down six months later by the Viet Cong, the peasants do not remember the U.S. with fondness and revile the Viet Cong for such acts. Instead, they decide the Viet Cong must be more powerful, and they act accordingly.

Even the military operations essential to bringing security, analysts argue, must be directly related to that goal and not achieve a meaning all their own. The destruction of the old imperial capital, Hue, during the 1968 Tet offensive is an example of how a military operation can become an end instead of a means.

For any counterinsurgency operation to be successful, analysts assert, it is mandatory that the military, social, economic, and political efforts be closely knit and related.

Will to succeed

And from this need springs the third criterion:

• Possessing the will to succeed and the governmental structure to do so.

As already noted, the American will to win in Vietnam has not been undiluted. There has been, for instance, no great willingness to go onto a war footing as a nation. Thus a governmental restructuring to better guide the talents and energies of the various agencies involved in the war probably would not have helped much.

But there is agreement that such organization—while no panacea—might well matter in the future. The ramifications of this concept are discussed below.

. . . and tomorrow

Washington

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF A NEW administration decided to commit the United States to helping an allied nation combat another so-called "war of national liberation"?

Despite the disturbing lesson of Vietnam, many sources are deeply convinced that the U.S., at best, might not be successful. At worst, there could be a catastrophic loss.

As these sources view prospects now, the U.S. Government may have only two feasible choices if faced in the near future with the prospect of helping an allied nation in another war of insurgency.

• Place direction in the hands of a top-level administration council capable of coordinating and meshing the political, social, economic, and military efforts.

• Ignore all treaties and promises and refuse to get involved.

Sources here argue that the first alternative would be feasible only if the governmental machinery to handle such situations is in existence and working before the time of need. Otherwise, they say, the result would be crisis decisions, erecting, as often as not, stumbling blocks to ordered responses to the developing situation.

Decision by choice

As for the second alternative, the same sources hold that any future administration should only make such a decision by choice, not necessity.

There is a concern among analysts that the U.S. may opt to pursue a path of new isolationism, but few in the Pentagon consider that likely. Very much aware of the possibility, former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara made a strong plea to Congress this year to determine whether the United States should continue with its present course of alliances throughout the world. If so, he indicated, the Congress should be willing to support fully those policies it approves.

United States forces now are engaged in operations of varying degrees of secrecy throughout the world in support of friendly governments. In each of these cases, the battle is against insurgents of varying political colorations. In such nations as Thailand, the effort is directed against insurgents trying to promulgate a war of national liberation.

Some of these efforts could develop into situations of far greater magnitude.

Early opposition stressed

Sources here are convinced that insurgency can be fought with any degree of success only when effective opposition is organized in the early stages. Once an insurgent effort gets out of hand, as it did in Vietnam, the task becomes substantially more difficult, if not impossible.

The Army has developed plans for special organizations to operate in counterinsurgency efforts. This planning grew out of a widely held belief that the Army was not—and still is not—possessed of the proper military organizations to engage successfully in counterinsurgency work.

If the Army plans come to fruition, these observers suggest, the counterinsurgency service may be prepared for successful operations in the Army's sphere of endeavor, which essentially would mean working with an allied nation's armed forces to build them up and increase their potential and capabilities.

Top structure criticized

But Army skills are not all the military effort involved in counterinsurgency efforts, even though probably the major part of most such operations. The Air Force, Navy, and Marines also could be involved, and with them would come the involvement of the defense hierarchy.

But the sources say that is not enough. Perhaps the fighting in Vietnam demonstrates some military failing. But, they say emphatically, the larger failing is that of administrative structure.

In essence, they say, the administration does not have any guiding organization to oversee the totality of the effort in Vietnam. That function has been assumed basically by President Johnson, who has neither the expertise nor the time for such a task, say the observers. The President has advisers with various specialties and fields of interest, but there is no continual guiding force covering all fields and advising the President.

The result, the sources say, is that Vietnam strategy is being decided at the Tuesday White House lunch. And that, they argue, is neither proper nor adequate.

Security council minimized

The National Security Council might at one time, as during the Eisenhower administration, have served to provide the leadership needed to prosecute such a war as that in Vietnam. But that organization fell into relative disuse under President Kennedy and has remained of lessened importance under President Johnson.

As one observer here put it, Mr. Kennedy was intolerant of the National Security Council intellectually, and Mr. Johnson is intolerant of it organizationally.

Ponderous though the council might be, these sources say, there could be little worse than the shambles that has supplanted it. In effect, they say, the various departments involved in the war have become like the arms of an octopus that has lost its head.

Asked by a congressional committee to single out some of the reasons for the lack of success in Vietnam, Dr. Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis, made several points.

Military limits seen

Emphasizing that he could not begin to provide a complete analysis, Dr. Enthoven said:

"First, there are limits on what can be accomplished with military power, especially in a guerrilla war. There are limits on what can be accomplished with firepower and conventional offensive land operations in a war for the support and control of the people. Our South Vietnamese allies do not have the degree of control of their population necessary to permit identification and isolation of much of the enemy forces in South Vietnam.

"Second, we have rightly accepted certain self-imposed limits on the use of our military power. Because we have chosen not to bomb China or Russia or to invade North Vietnam, we cannot effectively attack the Communists' sources of supply of manpower and materiel.

"Third, we are facing a situation very unlike World War II. We must fight a guerrilla war with a number of unfamiliar limitations. The Communists have adapted to this very effectively. They are very skilled in integrating their political and military operations. We have found it difficult to do so.

"Finally, as far as gross national products are relevant, our enemy in Vietnam is being supplied by the U.S.S.R., China, and other Communist nations which have a very considerable combined gross national product."

Questionable points

Many civilian and military officials here would dispute Dr. Enthoven's first two points. Many argue that military power, of the proper type properly applied, can accomplish victory in a guerrilla war.

But most believe that a totality of effort is essential. Military power can be successful only if closely related and attuned to the political effort, which would include economic development.

Few dispute the need for limitations upon military power, but students of guerrilla warfare argue that the limitations must be carefully thought out. Most military men, while accepting limitations, believe the gradual relaxing that has come with the progress of the war is the wrong approach. Instead, they argue, firm limitations should be arrived at at the outset, and the military power should be applied with greater force within these limits.

Political-military melding

There is little disagreement with Dr. Enthoven's third and fourth points. In fact, many consider the melding of "political and military operations" the crux of the issue.

Without this, many informed officials say, such plans as the Army's for special counterinsurgency forces are relatively meaningless. These sources hold that no one facet, no matter how brilliantly conceived, can drag the total effort along to victory.

Thus, they conclude, it is essential to have a guiding organization at the highest level of government including representatives of all the concerned parties. This organization —which might or might not be precisely a National Security Council—would have a staff to carry out its directives. And it would include in its structure advisory groups working constantly upon problems and giving expert guidance.

All of this would mean a major realignment of the present top governmental structure. Advocates are not sure that such changes would guarantee success. But many say firmly that anything less could do much to assure failure.

Associated Press Wirephoto

The war's cost . . .

GI pauses to sort out some pieces of what was once the beautiful old imperial capital of Annam in central Vietnam. Hue was virtually demolished during last February's Communist Tet offensive, as American and allied forces battled from priceless building to priceless building.

Associated Press Wirephoto

. . . runs high

Clutching two children, a barefooted Vietnamese mother flees her burning home, fired by South Vietnamese rangers. The rangers had attacked her village because it was being used as a supply depot by the Viet Cong. The population of Vietnam has known little but war for more than 20 years.

Washington, Act—?

Plot thickens in budget drama

By Philip W. McKinsey
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The 1968 battle of the budget continues. Most of the hard decisions are made, but administration officials are hesitant to talk about them.

This is because of the intricacies of intragovernment politicking. Earlier the Budget Bureau was prepared to issue a midyear review outlining what agencies would take what cuts. The plan was to do this after Congress recessed for the political conventions.

Now this has been delayed. Officials are concerned that these figures would simply be sitting targets for congressmen to shoot at, especially in view of the election atmosphere in Washington. Also, there still are five major appropriations bills which Congress has not acted on.

The administration still may release its revised budget figures before Congress returns early next month, though, because of the growing uncertainty in the agencies themselves about where the cuts will come. And to make matters even more difficult for the budgeteers they find now they will have to cut $7 billion—not the $6 billion imposed by Congress—in 1968-69 spending.

Need underestimated

This rude surprise comes because the states grossly underestimated their demands for federal funds for public assistance and medicaid programs and because the weather has been too good all over the world.

Funds for medicaid, it now appears, will be running about $300 million over earlier estimates. And the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC), it turns out, will need $700 million more than was estimated in January, because of abundant crops all over the world.

The CCC will have to buy more from American farmers this year, yet will be able to sell less abroad because of crop surpluses in other countries.

These two programs are funded automatically under the law. And since spending in the current year is under a congressionally imposed ceiling of $180.1 billion — with only a few exceptions such as veterans benefits, social security, and war costs — it means that the $1 billion added cost of medicaid and CCC must be chopped from other programs.

Administration officials maintain these cuts will be made. They deny with some heat that the Johnson administration is holding back. "When the new administration comes to town in January we will have done our share," says one top official.

Though details are not yet available about the whole budget-cutting package, some fairly hard indications are beginning to emerge.

Highway review seen

The Defense Department, for example, says it will not complete formation of the new 6th Infantry Division and will mothball 50 ships and 100 antisubmarine aircraft. These two moves alone will save about $220 million in the current fiscal year. Further details must await final congressional action on defense appropriations for the current year. But an intensive budget review is under way in the Pentagon.

Some details about budget cutting at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration are coming to light, too. NASA administrator James E. Webb has put his own budget guideline for the current fiscal year at $3.9 billion. That is $500 million less than the agency's $4.4 billion request to Congress in January.

These cuts will not affect the Apollo moon landing programs, aeronautics research, or space application programs. The projects which were scheduled to follow the Apollo lunar landing will be cut back. NASA asked for $440 million this year to begin work on these post-Apollo projects but will have this amount trimmed to about $140 million. Work on the big Saturn V space laboratory, post-

BUSINESS

lunar exploration programs, and others will be delayed.

Defense and NASA, if both meet their budget-cutting targets, will trim $3.5 billion from spending in the current fiscal year. That means a like amount will have to come from elsewhere. Several hundred million dollars will come from civil construction projects of the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Post Office, and the General Administration. Highway construction will get close examination, too.

There may be some hold-back on loans in various programs, and agencies which hold saleable paper—such as the Export-Import Bank and the Small Business Administration—might sell off some of this if money-market conditions permit. The assets of the government would be diminished, which, in a budgetary sense, would have the same effect of cutting spending by perhaps up to $1 billion.

From here on, budget slashing gets tough. The administration is committed to leave intact funds for "high priority" programs for social welfare. But it's still unclear what is high and low priority in this sense.

Already President Johnson has said he would not spend the $91 million which Congress added to appropriations for federal aid to impacted school areas. This program provides federal funds for those school districts where there are federal employees who send their children to public schools but pay no local taxes. Military personnel living on military bases are a major example.

Congress wants to expand these payments to include areas where federal employees live in local communities and pay local taxes, and this is what Mr. Johnson objects to.

Administration officials now play down earlier rumors that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was in for major budget cuts. Initially the word was HEW might be hit by as much as $1 billion in cuts. Now indications are HEW's share will be perhaps less than half that.

Before breaking for the conventions, Congress had taken final action on nine appropriations bills. Remaining are some big ones: defense, military construction, foreign aid, independent offices, and labor-HEW. It looks now as if Congress itself will chop about $3 billion from spending.

Beating the rush

By 1972, Washington commuters will ride to work in air-conditioned comfort aboard new rail cars such as this. Washington transit authorities plan to order 811 of the cars, designed by Sundberg-Ferar, Inc., to serve on a 97-mile commuter system that will link the capital with suburbs in Maryland and Virginia.

Unemployment forecast clouds French economy

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

Unemployment—rather than the outflow of dollars, the bitterness of the labor unions, high prices, the slump in exports, or even the agitation of student groups—may possibly be the detonator of autumn troubles for France.

Perhaps there will be no serious trouble. A soothing mixture of revolutionary plans and optimistic economic analyses has flowed uniformly during the past fortnight from the ministries and government spokesmen.

Jobless gain forecast

Yet serious guides of public thought — among them being such popular thinkers as Pierre Locardel in Le Figaro; Prof. J. Vincens of the Faculty of Law and Economics in the University of Toulouse, and director of the Institute of Employment Studies, writing in Le Monde; and Bernard Lefort on Radio Luxembourg and in Paris-Jour—are all pointing to reefs ahead, most of them not even submerged.

"Prospects for the autumn," says Mr. Locardel, "are not at all a vigorous expansion but rather a continuous increase in unemployment, with all the social and economic results that unemployment must bring."

"We must not conceal the fact that the problem is a difficult one," writes Professor Vincens in a cautious analysis. "Producers will make a greater effort than before to increase output without adding new labor or equipment. Some less efficient establishments will not be able to meet the new salary awards—a development which will in fact increase overall efficiency of production, since the places of the less able will be taken by the more effective firms.

"But the total expansion must be a very great one to counterbalance the reduction in numbers that the government's figures for April, 1968, before the troubles began, had already shown."

Estimates difficult

"The great black cloud, in fact," says Mr. Lefort, "is the threat of unemployment. It is necessary simultaneously to check the unemployment which is rampant among adults and to find work for the 400,000 young people that are entering the labor market."

Any practical estimation of French unemployment is difficult, for two reasons: first, because discharging an employee is complicated under French law; and second, because available French statistics throw only two small rays of light on the situation.

An employer is not allowed, except in the relatively rare case where employment is for a limited specific term, to discharge an employee without proving—if the employee summons a labor inspector, which he is sure to do—either a really grave fault on the part of the employee or that the job in question no longer exists.

Statistics shaky

This situation leads to the first statistical weakness. Some workers are declared as part-time employees; a large number of others remain as part of a mass of ineffective employees who would in most other countries be totally discharged.

Another statistical weakness is that the relatively small figure given as "unemployed" refers only to those who actually apply for unemployment pay. As this amounts, for example, to only $20 a month for an unemployed company manager, the published figure is misleading, because many unemployed simply avoid the red tape.

Even these partial official figures, however, show a rise of 33 percent in persons drawing unemployment pay at the end of February, 1968, as compared with 12 months earlier, and of 150 percent just before the May strikes began. The minimum figure expected by qualified observers for October, 1968, now is around 700,000, which would be an increase of 250 percent over the same month of 1967.

Weaker firms threatened

If part-time unemployment and semi-employed full-time employees were included, the figure might be 1½ million.

Two factors make the problem almost incalculable:

- Higher wages, and the drastic need to increase slumping exports by making French goods cheaper and better, will drive weaker firms out of business during the coming autumn, throwing more employees onto the market. At the same time, the efficient firms, to compensate for higher wages, will reduce the number of jobs to produce the same amount of goods or even more.
- At the bottom of the working-age scale, the number of young people looking for jobs in September and October will be about 360,000 greater than the number of workers at the top of the wage scale qualifying for the very small retirement pensions available.

Neither of the two obvious solutions is likely to be effective. Young people cannot be kept a few years more in educational training because there is already too little university and technical accommodation available, and also because both the cost of this education and a small "salary" that would have to be paid to each student would be impossible in a year when the harassed government is trying to reduce a budget deficit from $2.5 billion to $2 billion. And few older workers desire to retire early.

There are other problems.

Export level reduced

The month of nonwork in May-June now is followed by nearly as much nonwork (a full four weeks in the giant state automobile factory, Renault, for example) in August, and by a Christmas bonus of one month's pay for many or most workers at Christmas.

Investments in French private industry are almost entirely blocked, from French investors as well as from foreign, by the possibility that the new social structure to replace both communism and capitalism under the name of "participationism" will make the old-fashioned dividend nonexistent.

Reserves in gold and foreign currencies are down, the dollar loss alone totaling $2.1 billion from May 1 to July 31. This fact has led to a de facto discount against the franc which is disquieting, even though official rates are maintained.

Exports are still down, and for the same reason that has weakened France's world position so often: The average French producer maintains that the high quality of his goods relieves him of the responsibility for selling and obliges the foreigner to come to France to buy.

Prices increased

A devaluation of the franc would help momentarily but would cause permanent loss. The 10 percent allowed without International Monetary Fund approval would have no effect whatever, except oddly enough, to raise French food prices. Most French food imports now come in from other countries of the European Community, and these prices are calculated in dollars—tactfully referred to as "units of account."

Another threat comes from price increases, in which the government itself has led the way. On this point opinion is mildly optimistic.

Probably the greatest encouragement comes not from government plans or the soothing official announcements which are made almost daily, but from examples set by Italy from 1962 to '64 and by Holland in 1964-66. Wages were increased 23 percent in Italy in 1962, but the economy far more than reestablished itself by increasing productivity. In Holland wages rose 18 percent in 1964 and 13.6 percent in 1965, yet today Dutch industry is again triumphant.

Woman to pilot SAS jets

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Scandinavian Airlines System has hired its first woman pilot for its DC-8 jets.

Miss Turid Wideroe will join 53 men next fall in the SAS new pilot trainee program.

Miss Wideroe is already an experienced commercial pilot. Since 1966 she has been flying small twin-engine passenger planes for Wideroe Airways, a Norwegian carrier founded by her father. Mr. Wideroe is one of the pioneers of Norway's aviation.

But the sight of a pretty blonde commanding a modern jet transport wouldn't be startling at Moscow's airports. Aeroflot, the Soviet state airline, already employs all-women jet crews.

Viet peace hopes spark market uptrend

The week on Wall Street

By Martin Skala
Business and financial correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Sparked by a renewal of Vietnam peace hopes, a meandering stock market took an upward path last week.

The Dow-Jones Industrial Average scored its biggest one-day advance in four months Monday, hard on the heels of Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey's weekend statement that the Paris talks had reached a "serious phase."

Rumors of an impending United States bombing halt of North Vietnam, before they were squelched by official denials, also gave the market a fillip.

Despite some weakness on Thursday—a continuation of a pattern evident since the midweek trading shutdowns began in June —the market gave a good account of itself, brokers observed.

The blue-chip Dow-Jones Industrial Average advanced 16.24 points, closing Friday at 885.89.

Volume swells

The more inclusive Standard & Poor's 425 industrials index snapped a month-long losing streak, rebounding 1.87 points to 107.38. Volume was considerably heavier than the previous week, rising to 45.8 million shares from 39.8 million. Evidence of increased institutional trading, along with firmer prices, led some technicians to suggest that professionals considered the market oversold and were therefore buying again.

The psychological climate showed improvement on other grounds besides Vietnam. Excessive fears of an economic slowdown have been partly dissipated, brokers noted. Business has so far shown no tendency to cave in since the tax surcharge. Retail spending is bouyant, and July industrial production figures were a record high. A marked decline in steel output, though will probably slow up, if not prevent, any rise in August's figures.

Recent statistics notwithstanding, a soft economy — showing no real growth in the second half — is widely accepted now as inevitable.

Credit relaxed

On the monetary front, the anticipated loosening of credit supplies came earlier than many analysts thought. The Federal Reserve Board approved a ¼ percent cut in the discount rate to 5¼ at its Minneapolis and Richmond regional banks, two of the Fed's 12 district banks.

While only a straw in the wind, the Fed move widened speculation over a more sweeping cut in the discount rate soon. The step probably would lead to a reduction in commercial bank lending charges, thus bolstering business expansion plans.

Most analysts, however, agree that so long as "disinflation is the name of the game" any easing of the monetary reins will be gentle, not abrupt.

The Commerce Department reported that corporate profits rose $1.2 billion in the second quarter to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of $50.3 billion, after taxes. But with prospects that a lackluster economy will hold down profits for the next four quarters, many brokers remain skeptical about the market outlook.

Noncyclical stocks recommended

Robert Stovall, director of research for Nuveen Corporation, projects a dull market, one drifting along without any pronounced trends over the next few months. But any significant change in American Vietnam policy, possibly following the election, would make a new ball game, analysts note.

Goodbody & Co. continues to recommend "defensive and noncyclical groups such as food issues, banks, insurance companies, and utilities," all of which have been resisting the current market decline.

On the most-active list, Occidental Petroleum eased off ¼ despite an oil strike in western Canada. The company's Libyan oil fields, now coming into full production, have been a key factor behind the stock's advance.

Another natural-resource company, Texas Gulf Sulphur, dipped ⅞ to 32⅜ in the wake of an adverse court decision hailed as a landmark case by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Texas Gulf's officers, an appellate court ruled, were guilty of a violation of disclosure laws when they bought company stock prior to public announcement of a Canadian mineral strike in 1964. The court's ruling on what constitutes profitmaking from "inside information" has caused consternation in executive ranks. It is being appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Market indicators

Week ended Aug. 16

By the Associated Press

Dow-Jones stock averages

	High	Low	Close	Chg.
30 Inds	885.89	879.51	885.89	+16.2
20 Rails	250.45	248.33	250.45	+ 4.69
15 Utils	131.52	131.01	131.52	unch.
65 Stocks	319.09	317.13	319.09	+ 5.05

Standard & Poor's stock indexes

	High	Low	Close	Chg.
425 Inds	107.38	106.66	107.38	+ 1.87
20 Rails	49.34	48.68	49.34	+ 1.51
55 Utils	66.99	66.52	66.99	+ .55
500 Stks	98.68	98.01	98.68	+ 1.67

What stocks did

	Latest wk	Prev wk	Year ago
Advances	1038	960	617
Declines	507	577	846
Unchanged	132	136	129
Total issues	1677	1673	1592
New yearly highs	134	92	143
New yearly lows	40	77	50

Stock transactions

Latest week's sales	45,812,760
Previous week's sales	39,796,102
Year-ago sales	41,978,010

Britain boosts vehicle exports

By the Associated Press

London

Britain's motor-vehicle exports are booming, the British Society of Motor Manufacturers reports.

Exports of vehicles and spare parts for the first five months of this year totaled $892.6 million, described as "the best ever," though no comparative figures were given.

Exports of cars alone during May totaled 68,460 vehicles worth $66.5 million. That equaled in value the record monthly amount earned by the 70,273 cars exported in May, 1960.

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★High-rise apartment shadows cross suburbia

Continued from Page 1

Mount Vernon has been adding few new homes in recent years. Older dwellings are deteriorating. The number of substandard homes rose from 11 percent in 1950 to 14.1 percent in 1960, at the last census.

With the Lefrak Organization now on the scene, the whole outlook for Mount Vernon's housing and future development suddenly has taken on a different hue. Color it part promise, part threat.

Outlook sketched

The promise is clear enough: rapid growth, skyrocketing land values, an influx of well-heeled commuters, new industry, an expanding tax base. In short, prosperity. And, to put the cherry on top, increased political clout.

The threat also is clear: an exchange of small-town ordinariness of high-density, high-rise dullness, offering neither the neighborliness of the small town nor the excitement and variety of the big city.

The Lefrak Organization has not been noted for its architectural imagination or skill in environmental design. (Even so, the defenders of Lefrack City bestow on it the ultimate accolade of residing in it.)

But the quality of small-city living is a blend of many things. It involves neighborhoods with a distinct sense of place. It offers human contact on the personal, first-name level.

These tend to disappear with density. Sociologists have coined the term "anomie" to express the social disorientation that comes with packaging people into vertical filing cases in which offices are equally indistinguishable from homes, and the corner grocery store is lost in a supercentralized "shoparama," awash in a tea of tarmacadam.

But more disturbing than the matter of dull design, even, is what the boom will mean in racial terms. Today almost all Mount Vernon Negroes are crowded into the area south of the New Haven Railroad tracks. As they increase in numbers, will they continue to huddle in a deteriorating ghetto while affluent whites enjoy prosperity across the tracks?

Racial tensions already exist, and there have been incidents of violence in the past. With the black population rising (one official estimates it may become a majority of 55 or 60 percent in the next 10 years) Mount Vernon could become another Newark, N.J.

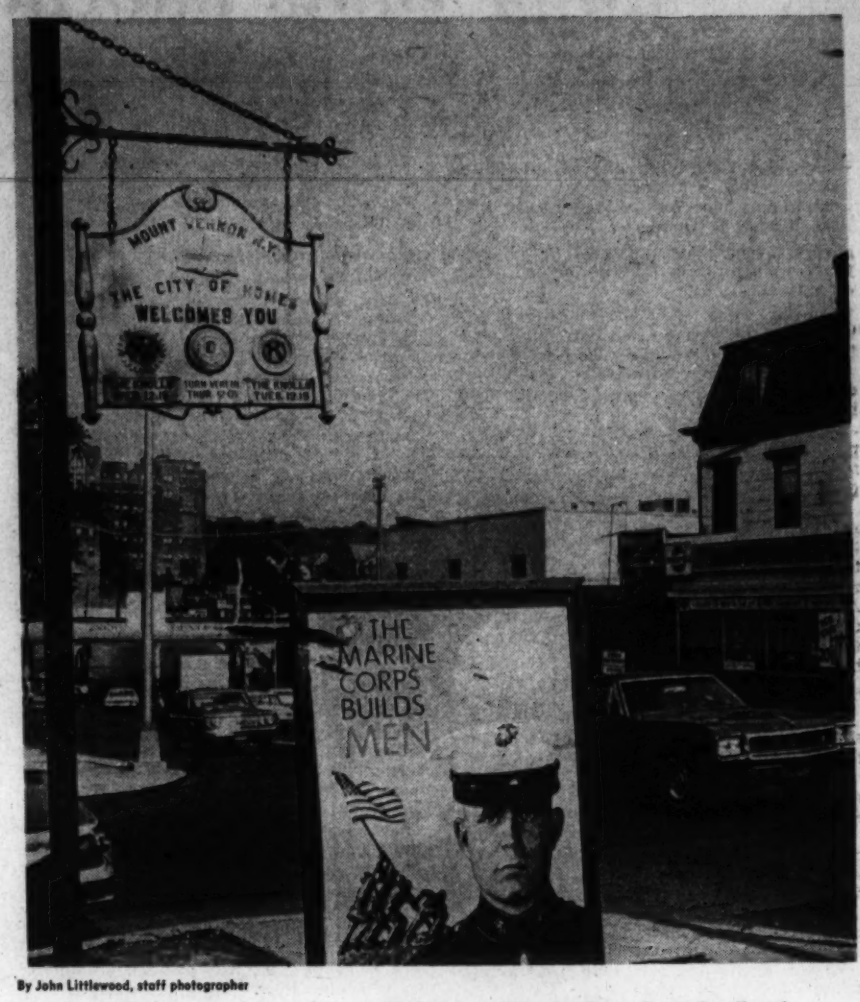
As of now, a fragile modus vivendi exists. Still, the achievement of racial balance in the schools is a major problem, with strong white resistance. So is housing. Race unquestionably is the No. 1 factor Mount Vernon must take into consideration as it looks forward to a building and economic boom.

The polychrome portrait of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. that hangs in Mayor August Petrillo's office, arm upraised in a familiar gesture, is a perhaps slightly ostentatious recognition of the race factor.

But it has its action counterpart. Under construction in the Negro south section now is the Fulton Garden complex, 108 units of one-, two-, and three-bedroom apartments. The federally aided middle-income project is going up after years of procrastination. Originally intended to supply relocation quarters for persons dispossessed by the Midtown Project demolition, many of these people have long since dispersed and relocated elsewhere. But half the Fulton Garden units will be reserved for those displaced families still seeking quarters.

Another urban-renewal project in the Negro ghetto involves 55 acres, in which some 400 units of low- and middle-income housing will be built under various programs.

Next: As the master plan goes, so will Mount Vernon.



By John Littlewood, staff photographer

A city of homes?

The sign outside the Penn Central railroad station in Mount Vernon, N.Y., calls the town "The City of Homes." But few new homes are being built and the old dwellings are deteriorating.

Florida ghetto takes a liking to friendly orange patrol car

By the Associated Press

Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

A bright orange "police station on wheels" is playing a major role in a community-relations program which authorities in this resort city say is transforming potential rioters into concerned citizens.

The so-called police station is a 1961 bus donated by the local Junior Chamber of Commerce and operated by the police department's Community Relations Unit.

Staffed by five policemen, the gaily colored vehicle is used to haul slum youths to ball games and day camp and—more importantly—provide a place where they can air their gripes.

Cooperation cited

"We take complaints and act on them," Sgt. Robert Lutes said. "Many of the gripes have nothing to do with crime; they're about sanitation, poor housing, and junk cars."

Sergeant Lutes and his staff will take the bus into the slums in an effort to change the image of the policeman in the Negro areas and "reach the potential rioter."

On the side of the bus is a large sign which proclaims: "Policeman Inside—Come in and Talk." "And that's exactly what we mean," Sergeant Lutes said.

The response has been tremendously gratifying, he said. In areas where youths once stoned police cars, he noted, they are now reporting crimes.

"Our program has created a lot of good feeling in our community. We recently had a case of arson at a predominantly Negro school and two Negro teen-agers provided enough information for us to catch the culprit."

"And we're also reaching adults," he added. "We've had cases where adults have called in reports of crimes and then held the line, reporting every move."

Sergeant Lutes said the bus is an extension of Operation Store Front, launched this spring in the northwest section of the city where most of Fort Lauderdale's 30,000 Negroes live. The conditions in this area are a marked contrast to the graceful boulevards and glittering beach frequented by the tourists who flock to the city.

"A lot of people in this area don't have cars and telephones and they distrust police stations," Sergeant Lutes observed.

Under the project, the police community-relations unit opened an office in the middle of the Negro area in a store which once housed the Negro Chamber of Commerce, now defunct. A man is on duty every day to handle complaints and listen to gripes.

"Now, with the bus, we can reach even more people," Sergeant Lutes said. "The propect is being well received by the Negro community, and Negro merchants are contributing to keep it going."

While the program is aimed primarily at promoting racial harmony, Sergeant Lutes said he and his staff—composed of two Negro officers and three whites—feel they are a success "even if we have a riot.

"We've gotten jobs for 56 kids this summer and we've created a lot of goodwill."

Payments balance alert aired

By the Associated Press

Washington

The government has reported an improvement in the balance of payments problem, but Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler warned some of the progress may be what he called "transitory."

The program President Johnson announced Jan. 1 to rescue the ailing balance-of-payments position is producing results but much more needs to be done, Mr. Fowler said.

"This progress, however welcome, is unbalanced and some features may be transitory," he explained. "It should not, and must not, excuse any let-up in an all-out effort to press forward and to carry out all the elements of the balance-of-payments program announced on New Year's Day by President Johnson."

Two major areas that still need attention, he said, are foreign trade and the imbalance between American tourism in other countries and visits by foreigners to the United States.

Earlier, the government reported the United States balance-of-payments position in the second quarter of the year was the best it has been in two years.

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More northern leaders appear

Major shifts indicated in Viet Cong military command

By Beverly Deepe
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Saigon

The Viet Cong high military command has undergone a major shake-up since the Communists unsuccessful May offensive, informed sources report.

This is confirmed by allied intelligence sources on the basis of prisoner and defector interrogations.

The Viet Cong leadership shake-up is considered of far greater relative significance than the much-publicized changeover in the American command from Gen. William C. Westmoreland to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams.

The reason is that northern-born or northern-trained Communist generals have, in effect, usurped more command authority and responsibility from native southern officers.

The changes may indicate Hanoi's dissatisfaction with military developments in the south since the May offensive. Or they may point up Hanoi's desire to increase the caliber and quality of leadership, particularly around Saigon, during what it frequently describes as a decisive period.

Two unequal divisions

In addition, in the lower military echelons, a number of regimental and battalion commanders reportedly have been demoted because of the poor performance of their units during the May offensive. An appreciable number of these lower-ranking commanders also have been captured by allied forces, or have voluntarily defected to the South Vietnamese because of increased battlefield pressure.

In short, the Communists "war of liberation" is increasingly being fought and led by imported northern troops and generals instead of "homegrown" southerners.

Within South Vietnam, the Communist military-command structure is divided in responsibility into two unequal geographic areas.

The northern two-thirds of South Vietnam is under the almost exclusive military control of North Vietnam. A North Vietnamese command runs most of the major operations, and North Vietnamese generals command the main-force units which are composed predominantly of North Vietnamese troops.

The southern one-third of the country still is under control of the Viet Cong high command, which was some years ago ostensibly led by southerners. Now, it is becoming more northern in leadership as well as troop composition.

The Viet Cong high command is the military section of the Central Office of South Vietnam (SOSVN)—the supreme military and political headquarters of the Communist Party for this southern third of South Vietnam.

General held two posts

The Viet Cong military structure, also called the people's Liberation Armed Forces, contains both military commanders and political commissars, the latter being more important in the overall conduct of the war.

The history of the Viet Cong military shake-up began last year. At that time Gen. Nguyen Chi Thanh had served since 1965 in the dual, all powerful capacity of both commander in chief and top political commissar of the Viet Cong armed forces.

General Thanh was one of the North Vietnamese four-star generals, the other being commander in chief of the North Vietnamese Army, Vo Nguyen Giap.

Last year, Radio Hanoi announced that General Thanh had died of a heart attack; but some allied sources here have said they believed he was killed in an American B-52 raid.

After his passing, the Viet Cong's top military position was split. Brig. Gen. (one star) Tran Do assumed the political commissar responsibilities; Maj. Gen. (two star) Tran Van Tra took over as commander in chief. They both served during the Tet offensive and until after the Communist May offensive, which the Communists acknowledge in captured documents as having been pretty much a dismal failure.

Two new personalities then arrived to fill these two top positions. Maj. Gen. Hoang Van Thai, a northerner, became commander in chief of the Viet Cong, replacing General Tra, a southerner, who became his deputy commander. Pham Hung, a southern "regroupee," replaced General Tran Do, a northerner who returned to his previous position as deputy political commissar.

General Thai, as commander in chief of the Viet Cong armed forces, is roughly analogous to General Abrams, or to Gen. Cao Van Vien who has charge of the South Vietnamese government armed forces.

General Thai was born north of the 17th parallel and has long been acknowledged as one of the senior military chiefs of North Vietnam. He reputedly is a brilliant strategist. He was trained as a schoolteacher, but soon became a Communist revolutionary military organizer.

In the early 1960's, he served in the North Vietnamese Army as vice-chief of staff and vice-minister of defense. He also was a member of the Central Committee of the Lao Dong (North Vietnamese Communist) Party.

He was then sent southwards to command the North Vietnamese military actions in the northern sections of South Vietnam, particularly along the demilitarized zone. In mid-1968, he was promoted to commander in chief of the Viet Cong armed forces.

Active in party affairs

The new Viet Cong political commissar is Pham Hung. He was born in Vinh Long Province of South Vietnam, but was regrouped in the north after the 1954 Geneva agreements divided the country.

He became one of the foremost party figures of the North Vietnamese regime, serving at various times as First Deputy Prime Minister, member of the Lao Dong (Communist) Party Politburo and Secretariat, chairman of the state prices committee and chairman of the board of finance and trade.

His Communist Party membership goes back to the 1930's and he was elected to the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party when it was officially re-established in 1951.

Regroupment director

In the light of the Paris peace talks, it may be significant to note that Pham Hung was head of the cease-fire committee in South Vietnam at the termination of the French-Indochina War in July, 1954. His responsibility included the regroupment of the armed forces of the various countries.

The following year, as the regroupment process was being finalized, he became head of the liaison missior of the Viet Minh high command in Saigon, which formalized withdrawal of the pro-Communist and the French forces.

Mr. Hung appears to be a close associate of North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. He at one time served on the agricultural board in Mr. Dong's office. In mid-1961 Mr. Hung served as Acting Prime Minister during a two month's absence abroad of Mr. Dong.

In 1957, Mr. Hung visited Prague and Moscow, and he accompanied President Ho Chi Minh to India and Burma in 1958 and to Indonesia the following year.

Known as a skilled organizer and administrator, Mr. Hung's emergence in the North Vietnamese regime significantly coincided with increased Communist Party propaganda urging reunification of North and South Vietnam.

Other northerners also serve in prominent positions under the commander in chief, General Thai.

Serving General Thai as chief of staff since early this year is Brig. Gen. Le Trong Tan. He was commander of the 320th North Vietnamese division when it took part in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

More than a decade later the division fought at the American Marine combat base of Khe Sanh. General Tan reportedly once was a deputy chief of staff in the North Vietnamese Army.

Under Chief of Staff Tan are three deputy chiefs of staff: one for regular troops, one for regional forces, and one for guerrilla and militia forces.

The first deputy—for regular troops—is a northerner, Anh Sau. He is brigadier general who assumed the position early this year when General Tan took over General Sau's former job as chief of staff.

Currently, General Sau is reported to serve concurrently as commander of the Communist forward command to attack Saigon. His deputy at the forward command is Col. Tran Dinh Xu, a southerner who formerly commanded the whole greater Saigon area.

Key officers imported

The other two deputy chiefs of staff are southerners. But neither has the equivalent status or rank of general.

Beneath the high-command level, all of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese divisions are commanded either by northern born generals or else by southerners who traveled north in 1954 and gained their general's stars or other ranks in the North Vietnamese Army.

None of the Viet Cong officers have been promoted up through the Viet Cong ranks to the position of division commander. All key field leaders have been imported from North Vietnam.

Increasingly, more of the regimental commanders in the once southern Viet Cong divisions are also being led by northerners, or persons serving in the North Vietnamese Army, informed sources report.

South African rift widens

By Reuters

Heilbron, South Africa

South African Prime Minister John Vorster has started a campaign to explain to the country a change in the government's traditional policy of apartheid at home and abroad.

He reaffirmed his outward-looking policy in a speech here Friday — the first of many he will make during the next two months.

At the same time another speech 100 miles away at Krugersdorp by his major antagonist, Dr. Albert Hertzog, brought into the open the far-reaching split in South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party.

Dr. Hertzog was fired as Health Minister when Mr. Vorster reorganized his Cabinet to clear dissident elements favoring rigid apartheid.

Dr. Vorster, in a speech covering the full range of South African policies, told a political meeting his government intended to pursue its diplomatic wooing of Black African states.

South African policy of establishing diplomatic links with Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland has been strongly attacked by right-wing elements on the ground it would eventually undermine the doctrine of separate development.

Dr. Vorster's opponents, who have gathered around Dr. Hertzog since his dismissal from the Cabinet, were expected to match the Premier's tactics with a full program of meetings of their own.

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Theaters play to a full house of history

Exploring London

By Marjorie Bruce-Milne

London

Londoners have always been lovers of the play. Three theaters still stand whose origins and traditions go back over 250 years: Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, with its memories of Nell Gwyn, "Sweet Nell of Old Drury"; Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, now the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, and the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. From time to time there have been disasters, the theaters destroyed by fire, the interiors have been torn out and redesigned, but the spirit of each theater has remained intact.

The Romans brought the love of the theater to Britain with tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and comedies by Aristophanes. In medieval times the clergy took up the torch, giving lively performances in the churches at Easter and Christmas. Outside, in the countryside and towns, the jongleurs set up more worldly shows on village greens and in town squares. From these jongleurs arose the troupes of players who used the inns as theaters. The courtyards were their stages, and the audiences looked down from the outside galleries.

The first real London theater was built in 1576 in a field at Shoreditch. It had to be outside the City walls because of the ban of the City Fathers. This theater endured for 22 years and then its timbers provided the fabric for Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, also outside the City walls.

♪ ♪ ♪

The actors of that day found it prudent to seek the protection of some nobleman. Shakespeare's troupe called themselves by the name of the Lord Chamberlain. With playwrights like Shakespeare and Ben Jonson and actors like Edward Alleyn and Richard Burbage, this was a golden age for the theater.

Then the age of Cromwell intervened. Playgoing was not entirely suspended, but it was seriously hampered. In 1640 Sir William D'Avenant, the poet, had received a patent from Charles I to build a new playhouse. With the overthrow of the Stuarts, the project lapsed. It was not until the Restoration in 1660 of Charles II that it could be revived.

Soon after his return to England Charles II granted two patents permitting the building and running of two new theaters. One he gave to Sir William D'Avenant, who placed his building in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the other to Thomas Killigrew who in 1663 built his playhouse in Bridge Street. In 1674 this was transferred to Drury Lane.

The Elizabethan companies had been free, democratic bodies, associations of players who held shares in their own theater building and after meeting all expenses shared the profits. While Charles II, like the Tudors and the Stuarts before him, had encouraged the theater, in granting exclusive patents to these two men, the King had set up a monopoly which endured for several generations and stifled competition. London had only two theaters. The owners of the patents controlled the players, decided their wages and made it difficult for them to move to any other troupe.

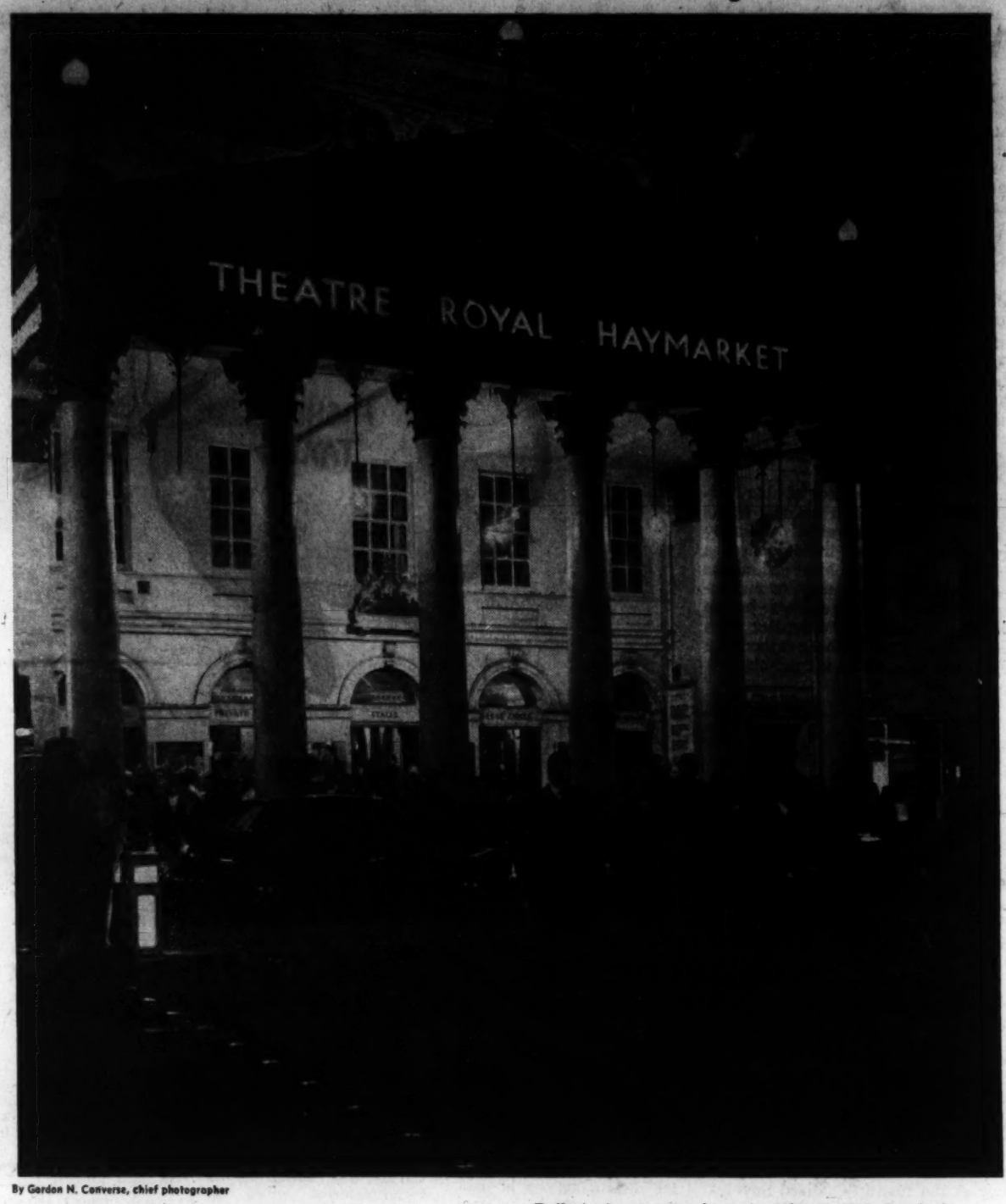
♪ ♪ ♪

To have only two theaters at the time of the Restoration did not perhaps matter much. The antagonism to playgoing established during the Puritan regime endured for some time. The average citizen no longer went to the playhouse. In the time of Charles II it was his courtiers, the beaux and wits, as well as some less reputable characters, who made the theater their club. The atmosphere, to judge by contemporary accounts, was lively. The maintenance of decorum became a problem. Not only did the audience often talk through the entire performance, to the distress of the actors, but there were frequent brawls which sometimes ended in duels outside the theater.

The Restoration brought other changes to the theater. In the past boys had played the women's roles. Now actresses were engaged. The whole ground floor was given over to the pit. The younger people sat there on benches covered with green cloth. The quality patrons were accommodated in boxes.

In the 18th century the two patents conferred by Charles II still held, and still conferred the exclusive right to present the spoken drama. One was in the hands of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. But in 1732 the D'Avenant patent had been transferred to John Rich when he opened the then-new Covent Garden Theatre.

Efforts were, however, made to break the ban, and at last successfully. In 1720 John Foster, a carpenter, built a small theater in the Hay Market. He was unable to get a patent and so the building remained unused. Eventually Samuel Foote, the actor, took the theater and, by a subterfuge, managed to evade the licensing laws. In 1820 John Nash was remodeling London and the present theater with its Corinthian columns took the place of the old building. It was not until 1843, however, that the Haymarket Theatre was acknowledged to be the equal of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Today London has nearly 50 theaters.



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Built in its present form in 1820 to 1821, London's Theatre Royal, Haymarket, has the youngest history as a great stage. Coming before it in line of tradition and fame are the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and the Royal Opera House at Covent Garden.

Haymarket

Dialogue with youth.

By Erwin D. Canham

Editor in chief of The Christian Science Monitor

Reader: Congratulations to Louis Garinger for a fine article in the Monitor of Tues., July 2nd. I think the views of the students contained in it reveal a reasonable and objective attitude towards sex morality. Morality does indeed depend "in some measure upon the context of the situation in which the action takes place!" As a young person myself, it has taken me the last four years to resolve in my own mind the new morality of today. This article sums up my conclusions to a tee.

M. W., Toronto

E.D.C.: Mr. Garinger's article, which those who missed it may like to look up, summarized the views of students in the University Christian Movement. It emphasized that young people themselves do not favor permissiveness or wholesale abandonment of moral standards. In some ways, these young people have a considerably more moral approach than many of their elders. There is a widespread attack on hypocrisy in the older generation, and a frankness in discussing moral issues such as sex. The article did not pretend to present the ultimate anwers or the last word. But it gave much food for thought, and a basis for comparing morality in various fields!

Pen friends overseas

Aazam J., Torbat-E-Jami, Iran. Would like to correspond with young people from the United States.

♪ ♪ ♪

Pat W., Valparaiso, Ind. (U.S.A.). Would like pen pals from all over the world. Her interests include sports, popular music, movies, flying.

♪ ♪ ♪

Troy D., Bedford, Ind. (U.S.A.), 13. Would like pen friends from Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden, and the Netherlands. He is interested in current events and collects coins and stamps.

♪ ♪ ♪

Mr. O. K., Chandigarh, India, 26. Electrical engineer would like to correspond with young people from the United States, Canada, West Germany, England, and Japan. His interests include music, literature, portrait sketching, photography.

♪ ♪ ♪

Mr. B. M., West Concord, Mass. (U.S.A.). Commercial pilot who has lived in India, England, and South Africa would like pen friends from all over the world. He has studied physics and other sciences and is interested in travel.

If you wish to answer a letter published in the column, enclose your own letter in an unsealed envelope, and address it in pencil with the name and address as it appears in the column. Put it in another envelope addressed to Pen Pal Editor, The Christian Science Monitor, One Norway Street, Boston, Mass. 02115. It's important that your letter carry correct postage for its destination overseas.

Quotation for today

There is but one straight road to success, and that is merit.

—Bourke Cockran

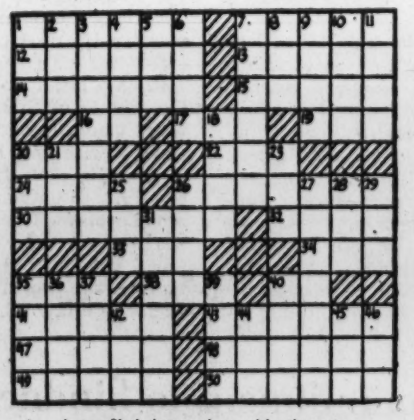
Daily crossword puzzle

Across

1. Teem
7. Reluctant
12. Part of the eye
13. Bizarre
14. Symbolize
15. Cook meat
16. That man
17. Weep
19. Kitchen swab
20. Rolled tea
22. Hymenopteron
24. Relative
26. Restless
30. Honeybee
32. Mirth
33. River island
34. Formic acid source
35. Rider Haggard novel
38. Sign of the zodiac
40. Inasmuch
41. Mannerly
43. Courteous
47. Emerge
48. Allowance
49. Sub-lease
50. Builds

Down

1. Portray
2. Youth
3. Waifs
4. Unicorn fish
5. Ship-shaped clock
6. Periods of time
7. Hit in a high curve
8. Pronoun
9. Speck
10. Threesome
11. Assistance
18. Small news item
20. Scoundrel
21. Color
23. Cake ingredient
25. Collation
26. Garden party
27. Rubber band
28. Decade
29. Still
31. Brooklet
35. Mar
36. Charter
37. Sinister
39. Monster
40. Before: Lat.
42. Danish fiord
44. Attention
45. Parcel of ground
46. Abstract being



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The Christian Science Monitor

"I am Prince Igor IV—changed into an ugly frog by a wicked witch. Kiss me and win an all-expense-paid weekend for two at a luxury hotel in Atlantic City."

FAMILY FEATURES

Squirrels at breakfast

By Eileen Cade-Edwards

It's always a bit of a shock to our visitors, sitting peacefully in our garden of an evening, when a trio of delightfully playful and inquisitive young squirrels suddenly appear. Especially surprising is the way they leap, without warning, onto the backs of the garden chairs, or scamper, without ceremony, over visitors' feet as they tag one another in the special game very young squirrels play.

Alarmed at first, our visitors want to be reassured. "Will they bite?"

"No," we tell them. "They're as gentle as kittens!"

And soon they find this out for themselves. Soon they begin playing with them, rolling them over and tickling them under their chins.

In less than a second they have flashed up and down two trees and almost before they've had time to land they are diving playfully at one another, until, completely tangled, they roll, like a wheel, into the nearest flower bed.

Our visitors assure us they have never spent a more amusing evening!

Our overnight guests are no less charmed and amused, but they too appear anxious at first.

"Not everyone has the honor of having breakfast in the company of a batch of squirrels," we tell them.

"Not everyone wants the honor of a squirrel on each shoulder and another on their lap when they're trying to eat," one lady reminded me cheerfully.

"How did you tame them?" we are often asked. And, "where do they sleep at night?"

Then we tell them the brief history of Nibbles, Whiskers, and Little Paws who were raised (partly) by our three sons. The little squirrels were orphaned after their mother fell from a roof top.

The boys found them darting frantically through the overgrown grass. The three boys volunteered to take the mother's place. Little did they know then just what this undertaking involved! Not yet fully weaned, they had to be fed diluted tinned milk from doll's plastic feeding bottles five or six times a day, plus increasing amounts daily of crushed horse-chestnut flowers. (We had watched a mother squirrel feed this to her young some time ago.)

When school started, I pitched in as a substitute for three "substitute mothers."

Throw to the winds all thoughts of order or method is my advice to any busy mother comtemplating a similar undertaking. Forget all about regular family meals, regular washing and ironing and shopping days!

But it would be most unfair to pretend there was nothing but sheer hard work to be got from the raising of baby squirrels. There is a lot more! For every hour of work there are three or more hours of pure joy and satisfaction.

A verse for today...

I will call on the Lord, who is worthy to be praised: so shall I be saved from mine enemies.

—II Sam. 22:4

Editorials

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Commentary

WEEKEND ISSUE
Distributed Saturday-Monday, August 17-19, 1968

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

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McCarthy's All-stars

Sen. Eugene McCarthy manages to keep his presidential campaign lively, to say the least. His preparation of a list of those he would like to see in his Cabinet, if elected, is hardly orthodox. None can recall another candidate who, even before nomination, produced a full-blown Cabinet list. Next thing we know, the Senator may be handing out the text of a State of the Union message he'd like to give.

The Senator has not contacted any of the members of his all-star selection. The compilation, he says, simply indicates the caliber and qualifications he would seek for the Cabinet. This is useful. He may have later thoughts about some members, even as he changed his mind about going to Paris to discuss Vietnam with the peace negotiators.

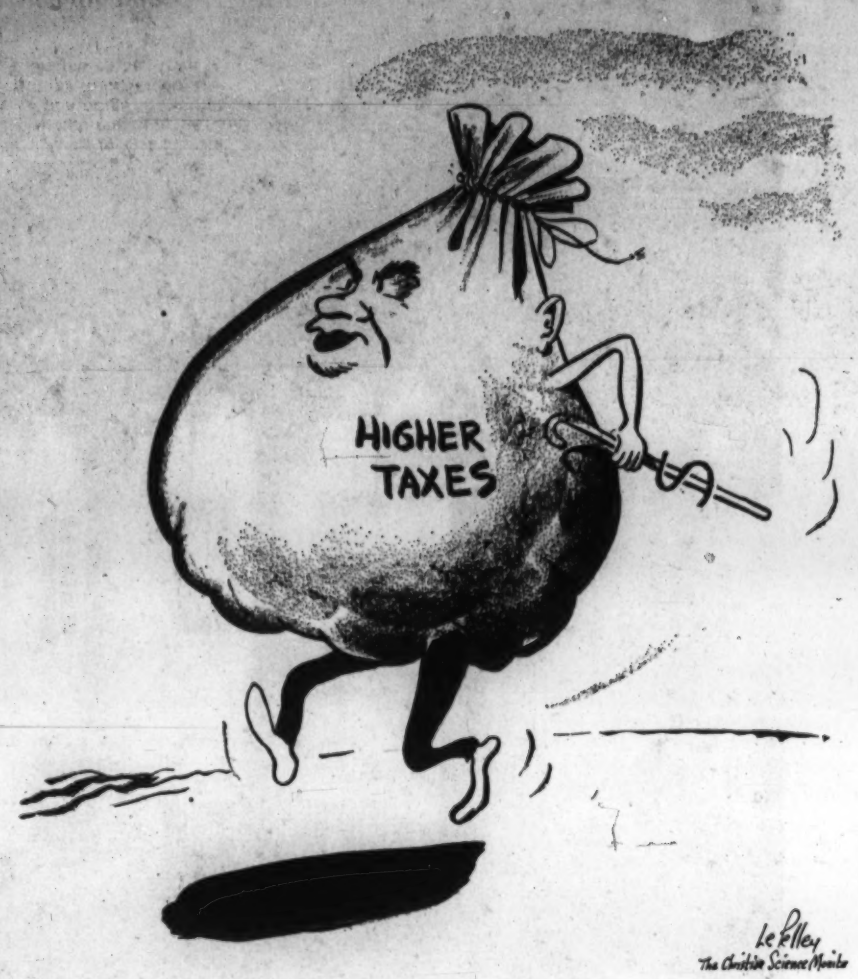
Nominees have talked about key Cabinet posts before this. When victory seemed only a week away in 1948, New York's Gov. Thomas E. Dewey was reported to be studying Cabinet appointments; Harold E. Stassen was one likely member. In 1952 it was widely expected, of course, that General Eisenhower would choose John Foster Dulles for Secretary of State, if elected, and there was speculation that if Adlai Stevenson won, he would turn to Averell Harriman for that office.

What of the McCarthy selectees? Not everyone would agree that Senator Fulbright would be effective as Secretary of State, after so vigorously identifying himself with one point of view regarding Southeast Asia. Not everyone would choose John Gardner for Pentagon chief, when he was doing such a good job as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare before he quit. Wouldn't he do better in his former post, better than auto union president Walter Reuther, suggested by Senator McCarthy for HEW?

And of course it would be nice, as proposed, to have Governor Rockefeller heading the Department of Housing and Urban Development—if you could get him. Mrs. Martin Luther King, proposed for Ambassador to the United Nations, would be greatly respected though lacking experience in a demanding post.

Senator McCarthy's choice of able individuals does help to keep national sights high. He might not achieve "all one happy family" with his rugged individualists, a few of them Republican. Most candidates would play it more cautiously, or responsibly, consulting the prospects before making up the list. But the Senator from Minnesota has played nothing orthodoxly this year, and look where it's got him.

'I'm hardly ever mentioned as a presidential running-mate'



Respectable revolution

Mexico is the biggest Spanish-speaking country in the world—just as the United States is the biggest English-speaking country. Mexico is the most economically sound of the Spanish-speaking countries of the New World—just as the United States is the most economically sound of the English-speaking lands of the hemisphere. Present-day Mexico was born of a successful revolution—just as was the United States. And again like the United States, Mexico is paying the price of its revolution's having become too respectable. To restless youth at home and abroad, the contemporary standard-bearers of the revolution—as in the United States—seem too often too middle-class, too well-established.

This is the background to the trouble in recent weeks on university campuses in Mexico—above all in Mexico City. There was probably no great ideological conspiracy behind the student unrest, despite the arraignment by the authorities of a handful of members of the Mexican Communist Party. (The Communist Party in Mexico is as puny as any in Latin America, despite the association with it of such distinguished men as the artist, David Siqueiros.) But the initially brusque reaction of the government to the student upheaval was perhaps partly prompted by the effect that this kind of rowdiness might have on the flow of foreigners into Mexico City for the Olympic Games eight weeks hence.

For many Mexicans, the holding of the games in Mexico City is the seal of international recognition on Mexico's world role. The success of the event is therefore as politically important as was the success to the Japanese of the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo. It may well do something to restore to the image of Mexico City some of the political attraction and romance of which Havana has perversely robbed it.

Of course there have been pictures of that symbol of Havana-style revolution, Ché Guevara, in the midst of the melees on the campus in Mexico City. Chairman Mao and Trotsky have also been brought into the act. This kind of romantically wild eruption may be a healthy reminder to President Diaz and the leadership of his party of the Institutionalized Revolution not to become too complacent, even too institutionalized. (There are still the rural poor and the slums of Buñuel's "Olvidados.") But in the shadow of Ché's likeness, this is also a valid occasion for reminding Mexicans and their friends that—even if the police are regrettably brutal or venal on occasion—their country is still the home of the most successful, the most enduring, the most healthily nationalist and the most truly indigenous revolution in all Latin America.

Prague's visitors

Czechoslovakia has now ended another extraordinary diplomatic week. Within a seven-day period Prague saw the arrival of three Communist leaders, each a spokesman for widely differing views.

With Yugoslavia's President Tito, Czechoslovakia welcomed the "grand, old man" of Marxist independence and innovation. From the very beginning of Prague's ruckus with Moscow, Tito made decisively clear his support for the Czechoslovakian Communist Party's decision to follow a path of liberalization and greater democracy. Although he carefully avoided inflammatory words toward Moscow while in Prague, Tito's presence there carried an unmistakable message to the Kremlin.

With the arrival of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu another type of visitor and another kind of support reached Prague. No ideological innovator, President Ceausescu is a tough-minded orthodox Marxist where ideology and internal affairs are concerned. Thus Romania, unlike Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, cannot be accused of undermining Moscow's concept of communism. Where Romania's value to Czechoslovakia lies is in the former's resolute determination to allow no Kremlin interference in its internal affairs and to follow its own foreign policy. Romania's support has been and continues to be extremely important to Czechoslovakia.

In addition to these two "friends," Prague has also, interestingly enough, gotten strong support from the visit of a "foe." Although the Canossalike visit of East German Communist leader Walter Ulbricht was designed primarily to help his conservative regime weather the shock of Prague's current success, nonetheless his very presence brought additional prestige and position to the Czechs. From having been the bitterest attacker on Prague only a few weeks ago, Ulbricht now appeared almost in the role of a suppliant, asking Prague to go slow on diplomatic and economic steps (mainly connected with West Germany) which could embarrass his government.

Prague is far from having shaken off the wolves of Stalinist sentiment which view it angrily and suspiciously. It must tread a wise and, as far as possible, unprovocative path. It must balance inward reform with outward loyalty to the Eastern European Communist camp. But it has won a great victory, it has powerful allies, it is in a strongly favorable position in the world's eyes. These recent visits underline all this.

Commitment to kindness

In these times of pressured stands on fundamental issues—clamorings for more adequate welfare trying to arouse the tax- and inflation-weary, war-shyness lapping at the beachhead of national policy—it is heartening to be reminded of another kind of commitment carried on for 15 years by a cat and the children of a Los Angeles primary school.

One fall day in 1953, the story goes, a gray cat casually enrolled himself in Room 8 of aptly named Elysian Heights Elementary School. Instead of being routed he was indulged. And he returned every morning thereafter for a decade and a half to join his young friends.

Though possessed of the uniquely unobtrusive manner cats have, Room 8 (as he was called) became famous. Two teachers wrote a children's book about him, and royalties helped build the school library.

Room 8 had no home of his own until recent years when he stayed nights and vacations with a nearby family with four youngsters. He was common property among the schoolchildren, however, free of the loner instinct usually associated with the species.

Though the cat, which died this week, will not be enrolling for school after Labor Day, the faithfulness and affection he stirred will continue to reregister in the thoughts of the many who have heard of him.

There is still fluidity

Let's think

By Erwin D. Canham

The McCarthy and McGovern campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination are refreshing. They appeal to many genuine dissatisfactions in public thought. What will they accomplish?

They may influence the Vietnam plank in the party platform. But this is a fruitless sort of business. The party cannot flatly repudiate the policies of the last two Democratic Presidents. Therefore the form of words bound to emerge will be of the all-too-familiar weasel sort. They will say the war must be ended. They will not say how to achieve that goal, any more than the Republicans did. There may be a terrific fight over whether to advocate ending the bombing and admitting the Viet Cong to a role in government.

The real significance of the McCarthy and McGovern candidacies is that they are a revolt against the establishments. Much public opinion in the country generally is also against the "ins." Rank-and-file Democrats feel this way too. Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey is an "in."

A difficult compromise

If one of the outstanding rebels can be brought on the ticket as vice-presidential nominee, it will go quite a distance toward appealing to the dissenters. The strongest possible Democrat for the second place would, of course, be Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. There is every sign that he would refuse the nomination, both because of his present family concerns and as a shrewd long-range political calculation.

The next strongest Democrat would be Senator McCarthy. Yet, admitting the inconsistencies which all politics permits, Senator McCarthy and Vice-President Humphrey would have to swallow a lot of words and compromise a lot of loudly proclaimed positions before they could run on the same ticket.

Next in the list might be Sen. George McGovern. This quiet and appealing South Dakotan—who was a delegate for the Methodist Church at the recent World Council of Churches meeting in Sweden — is a proxy for the Kennedys in the nomination race. He too would have words to swallow if he were to take the second place with Mr. Humphrey. Otherwise he should be very attractive to the Humphrey forces.

Another Agnew?

If no deal with the dissenters can be worked out, Mr. Humphrey may find himself in something like the position Richard M. Nixon took up in choosing Gov. Spiro T. Agnew as a running mate. If, for example, he were to turn to Gov. John Connally of Texas or most others on the southern list he would hear the same howls that went up at Miami Beach.

The Democrats have a real problem at Chicago if they expect to appease the anti-Vietnam wing of their party and block a serious fourth-party challenger. They will have to make real concessions. Mr. Humphrey will have to divorce himself from the bonds of the past four years far more than he has done hitherto. He can scarcely go very far in this direction without losing the strength he gets from White House support. His freedom of movement is seriously limited. The dissenters can demand a high price.

Dissent solid enough

The administration - Humphrey forces may have the nominating votes already sewed up. But the dissent is very real, just as it was among the Republicans at Miami Beach. The GOP has gone a long way to bring its dissenters back into the fold. Mr. Nixon is now cultivating the party's liberals. With his right wing reasonably secure, he may expect to go vote-hunting in the center.

Quite possibly the decisive question in the 1968 election will be whether a significant fourth party is set up. The melodramatic prospect of a McCarthy-Rockefeller alliance is highly improbable. But something might develop to appeal to the youth vote and the intellectual vote and all the other people who cannot support George Wallace but also cannot relish either establishment candidate, Republican or Democrat.

Such a fourth-party candidate might relieve the sentiments and consciences of the dissenters. It might also elect Mr. Nixon, by whittling away more Humphrey support than Mr. Wallace will take from the Nixon right. Hence it might decide the outcome.

There is still fluidity in this year of sensation.

Inflation's triangle

By John Allan May

London

In the House of Commons the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, was pressed by some Conservatives about the causes of inflation. Seven economists had written him to urge that the chief cause must be an oversupply of money. Did not Mr. Wilson agree?

"I thought that these very distinguished political economists"—he stressed the word *political*—"succeeded in putting into economic jargon some of the more ignorant shibboleths of honorable gentlemen opposite (his questioners)," the Prime Minister retorted, while his supporters laughed loud with delight.

"No, I do not agree," repeated Mr. Wilson emphatically.

Yet the plain fact is that in the last three years the British Government has spent £3,000 million ($7.2 billion) more than it has been able either to gather in taxes or to borrow from the banks. It has, in effect, just printed the money. That, surely, must be inflationary.

* * *

Certainly wherever the view holds sway that it is not, and that a government may print the extra money it needs but cannot borrow without penalty, one would expect inflation to continue. And in Britain it has continued for 30 years, at about twice the rate in the United States.

Now the seven economists who wrote to the Prime Minister, in their turn, deny that inflation can be caused by wages rising faster than output. Which trend is the Prime Minister's own choice as the villain of the piece. This trend has also continued over nearly 30 years.

And it does appear to be almost axiomatic too that if a nation's money income rises faster than its output of goods and services the result must also be inflation. Once again too much money will be chasing too few goods, by definition. Now, obviously a nation's money income is the sum total of its earnings and borrowings. With 98 percent of the employable population employed the earnings of the nation will be the more potent factor.

One could thus claim that the increase of personal incomes faster than the increase of output can rightly be named as the second, if not the prime, cause of inflation.

But a third candidate may also be proposed as villain—the running of large sections of industry at a financial loss.

These are almost inevitably nationalized industries. For no private industry can run at heavy financial loss for long, whereas nationalized industries can go on for ever doing so.

Indeed it used to be argued that with nationalized industries profit and loss are irrelevant. If that argument is less and less used today it is because hard experience begins to show that whenever an industry does not pay properly, the first people it does not pay properly are its employees. Thus the argument that this does not matter because the industry is a social service is seen to be patently absurd. Of course it matters. People must be properly paid.

* * *

A case in point is provided by British Rail, the nationalized railroad services of Great Britain. Last year British Rail lost £153,000,000 ($367,200,000). The basic pay of the average rail employee is about £11.10 a week ($27.60). (Actual earnings are made up to £22 by prolonged overtime work.) The railways "do not pay," in both senses of the expression. For the railwaymen's sake they have to be made to pay.

Next year, it is true, British Rail will appear to lose less money, because most of its accumulated capital debt will be "written off." However the debt will still need to be serviced, so that extra money will still have to be paid out by the government to about the same extent.

Thus it may be argued that, where industries are nationalized, profit and loss can become considerable factors in the money supply. For one way or another the government has to advance money to square the account. Put it in one light and one can say this: If it can not borrow the money or squeeze it out of taxes, then the government will have to print it. The effect, again, will be inflationary.

Or, to put it another way, when there is a loss like this, that much more money has to be paid out in wages and salaries than has been produced by the employees concerned. Which is also inflationary.

Inflation, it seems, is not so much a vicious circle as an infernal triangle. If so, it will be removed only when all three angles to it are reduced simultaneously.

Only when, let us say, at one and the same time, governments spend only what they can genuinely gather in; people get paid only the value of what they produce but no more; and industry as a whole is reasonably profitable.

Our readers write

No conciliatory gestures

To The Christian Science Monitor:

I cannot comprehend the logic of your editorial entitled "Time for patience." Why should the United States policy be to clearly state the meaning of its conciliatory gestures while Hanoi makes no such declarations?

There also is reason to question whether or not any conciliatory gestures have actually been made by Hanoi. These gestures may have been forced upon them by the capture of rocket positions around Saigon and by B-52 bombings. Actual evidence in the troop buildups and Saigon attacks points more to escalation rather than conciliation.

Belmont, Mass. **Roy A. Larsen**

Rehabilitation

To The Christian Science Monitor:

As a retired lawyer with 37 years of practice at the Illinois bar, I greatly enjoyed the statement of Attorney General Ramsey Clark before the subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Senate Judiciary Committee, as reported recently in the Monitor.

It was a strong point when he said that

wealthy murderers seldom have died in the hands of the hangman. Clarence Darrow who had defended many of them put it more succinctly when he stated more than 50 years ago: "Hanging is a poor man's disease."

It is hoped that the eloquent indictment of capital punishment by Mr. Clark will go a long way toward the curing of this malignancy by abolishing it as a relic of barbarism and having no place in modern human society.

There is little that can be added to the words of our Attorney General concerning the reasons why legal homicide should no longer be practiced in America.

Killing the killer looks much like revenge which is an unworthy human emotion. Penology should concern itself only in rehabilitation.

How can a convicted murderer be rehabilitated?

Life imprisonment with eligibility for parole in 20 years, if found readjusted to the realities of life by official psychiatrists, might be the general idea.

If the convict during his imprisonment were put to work at productive labor with wages, his earnings to be used to support widows and orphans who had lost a husband or father through murder, it might go a long way toward redeeming him.

Twenty years of effort to make amends for a great wrong would greatly help to condition the mind of the man. His earnings would tend to keep innocent victims off of relief rolls.

His refusal to work would not need to inflict any additional punishment. It would greatly jeopardize his chances for parole at the end of 20 years.

Ft. Meyers, Fla. **Alois S. Knapp**

Letters from readers are welcome. All are subject to condensation. We assume no responsibility for statements made.